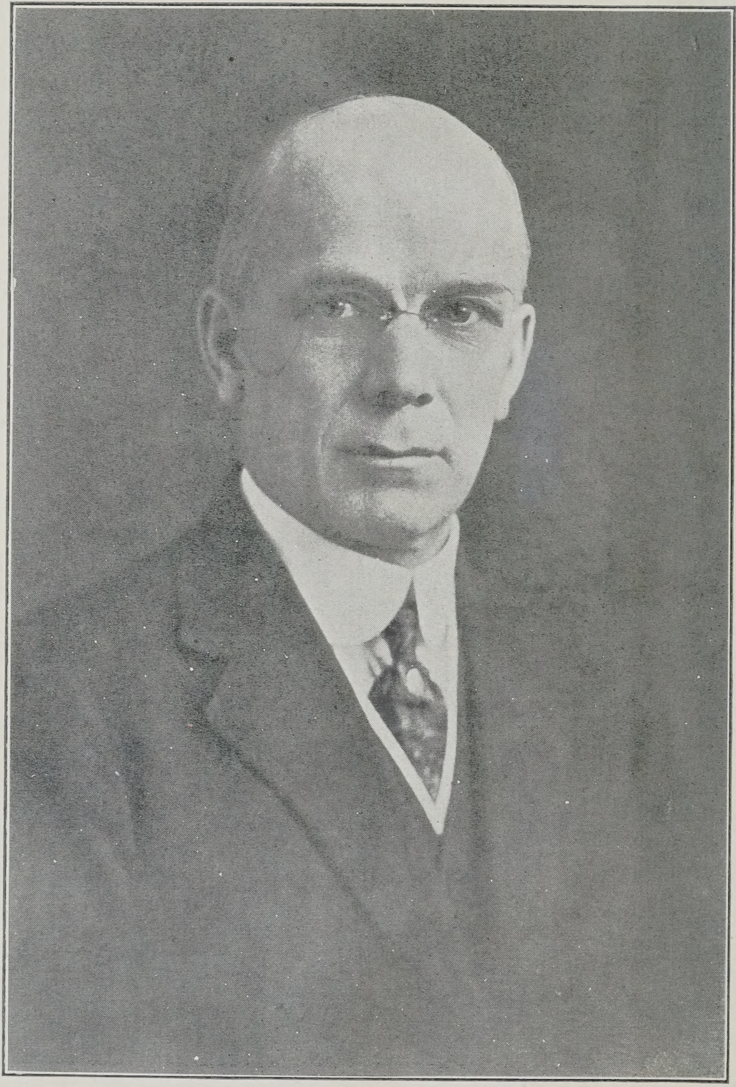
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
University of Toronto

https://archive.org/details/empireclubofcana1924unse



MR. WILLIAM BROOKS

President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1924

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS
DURING THE YEAR 1924

Twenty-second Year of Issue

GOD SAVE THE KING

THE MACOOMB PRESS
TORONTO

COPYRIGHT, CANADA, 1924
THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

THE MACOOMB PRESS
PRINTERS AND BOOKBINDERS, TORONTO, CANADA

CONTENTS

PAGE

OFFICERS, 1924 vi

ORGANIZATION AND CONSTITUTION vii

AFFILIATION WITH THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTION.......... xii

SIR HARRY LAUDER 1
Getting Together.

EDWARD W. BEATTY, K.C. 3
Some Canadian Problems.

HON. JOHN S. MARTIN, B.A., M.L.A. 17
Canada's Future as an Agricultural Country.

PROFESSOR BERNARD K. SANDWELL 31
On Being Sorry for Ourselves.

REV. DR. J. R. P. SCLATER 45
Confessions of a New Canadian.

SENATOR THE HON. R. V. WILSON OF AUSTRALIA 62
Australian Problems.

CHARLES A. MARSHALL 74
The Russian Situation.

GEOFFREY O'HARA 88
Jazz: Whence? Why? Whither?

HOWARD P. WHIDDEN, B.A., LL.D., D.D. 97
Canada's Place Among the English-Speaking Nations.

PROF. STEPHEN LEACOCK, B.A., PH.D. 109
The Proper Limits of State Interference.

GEORGE M. WRONG, M.A., LL.D., F.R.C.S. 125
The European Situation.

PAGE

GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN 136
History and Literature.

SIR BERTRAM WINDLE, KT. 153
Thomas Hardy, The Novelist.

REV. R. P. BOWLES, M.A., D.D., LL.D. 166
Culturing Canadian Patriotism.

PROFESSOR YOHAN MASHI 174
Political Situation in India.

OTTO H. KAHN 184
An International Survey.

REV. C. A. SEAGER, M.A., D.D., LL.D. 210
Canada and the League of Nations.

RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES P. ANDERSON, D.D. 223
Internationalism.

SIR JOHN WILLISON, LL.D., F.R.C.S. 231
Australia As I Saw It.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN F. O'RYAN, K.C.M.G., C.V.O. 249
Some Reflections on the War.

A. H. TATLOW 263
South Africa.

JOHN BUCHAN, LL.D. 273
Some New Elements in British Politics.

S. R. PARSONS 285
The British Empire Exhibition.

C. R. FAY, M.A., D.Sc. 301
The Labour Situation in Great Britain.

CAPTAIN J. MILTON STATE 311
Out-of-Doors in Canada.

PAGE

DR. CHARLES A. EATON 315
The New Organ of Civilization.

PROFESSOR W. H. GREAVES 334
Public Speaking.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART, K.B.E. 347
Canadian Unity.

HON. CHARLES MCCREA, M.L.A. 357
The Development of the Mineral Industry in Ontario.

ANNUAL MEETING AND TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY—
His Honour Col. Henry Cockshutt 373
Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Past President 384
Mr. Wm. Brooks, Retiring President 386
Rev. Dr. R. N. Burns, President-Elect 391

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE

YEAR 1924

Patron and Honorary President:

FIELD-MARSHALL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARN, K.G., G.C.M.G.

President: Mr. William Brooks.
First Vice-President: Mr. John O'Connor.
Second Vice-President: Mr. C. D. Henderson.
Third Vice-President: Mr. L. F. Monypenny.
Secretary-Treasurer: Dr. D. J. Goggin.

Committee:

Mr. Harold Baldwin
Dr. Henry Beatty
Dr. R. N. Burns
Dr. Harold Clark
Mr. W. J. Darby
Mr. R. E. Fennell
Mr. H. G. Fox
Mr. J. B. Hanna
Mr. E. J. Hathaway
Mr. A. O. Hogg
Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick
Mr. J. Earl Lawson
Mr. W. E. Lemon
Mr. S. R. Parsons
Mr. W. Bert Roadhouse
Lieut.-Col. R. J. Stuart
Mr. J. B. Sutherland

Mr. Ellis H. Wilkinson. *Immediate Past President.*

Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.,
Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C.,
Mr. Arthur Hewitt,
Representing the Past Presidents

CONSTITUTION

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called the Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed, under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The membership of the Club shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject and shall consist of

(*a*) Active Resident Members.
(*b*) Non-Resident Members.
(*c*) Life Members.
(*d*) Honorary Members.

Active Resident Members, and Non-Resident Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Active resident members shall pay an annual fee of $3.00 and non-resident members $2.00, this

fee to include membership, obtained after October fifteenth in any year, till December thirty-first of the following year. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or to be eligible for office.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second, and Third Vice-President; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; and seventeen other members, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. These members together with the officers before mentioned, shall constitute the Executive Committee, and shall hold office throughout the calendar year. All Past Presidents of the Club shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairman-ship of the immediate Past President, and such Advisory Council shall elect annually three members, who, together with the retiring President, shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than December 15th of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:—

(*a*) Finance Committee.
(*b*) Speakers' Committee.
(*c*) Membership Committee.
(*d*) Constitution Committee.
(*e*) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(*f*) Publicity Committee.
(*g*) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. As the financial year does not end until December 31st, the Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at the regular meeting of the Club held during the month of January.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual, or special and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the address and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year shall be the same as the calendar year, viz.: January first to December thirty-first.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Colonial Institute and the Empire Club of Canada are affiliated with a view to promote mutually the object for which both were founded, namely, the Unity of the Empire. Each extends to visitors and members vouched for by the other the usual courtesies on arrival in London or Toronto.

GETTING TOGETHER

A Talk by SIR HARRY LAUDER,

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 3, 1924.

Sir Harry, who was suffering from a severe cold, asked to be permitted to give a friendly chat instead of a formal address.

He referred to the aftermath of the war, the wrangling of the nations, the consequent difficulties in carrying on trade and commerce, and the necessity for the nations getting together on a friendly basis. "Let us be friendly" should be the motto of those who long for the establishment of a real, just and lasting peace. The great English-speaking peoples—the peoples that stand for the things that are fair and square—should lead the way, and where there are difficulties, let those with a grievance come together with their British brothers, table their troubles, talk them over and, in the spirit of friendship and fair play, a way out will be found and justice be done. That will be so much better than the madness of the awful war through which we passed.

It was the getting together of the troops from the mother-land, from every part of the British Empire, from the United States speaking our common language, that helped so greatly to turn the tide of war and brought victory. Here in Toronto if the Rotarians, Kiwanians, Canadians, and such clubs would get together with their brothers in the Empire Club what a power for this Canada and for the Empire they would wield! And there would not be a hall large enough in Toronto to hold all "when I come back on my fourth annual farewell tour."

He concluded his talk by telling how he composed his latest song, "If ever I marry again," specially pointed out the great moral truth wrapped up in the last two lines, "And I must be the boss of the house, If ever I marry again," and then sang the song as only he could sing it. A storm of applause brought the meeting to a close.

SOME CANADIAN PROBLEMS

AN ADDRESS BY EDWARD W. BEATTY, K.C., PRESIDENT C.P.R.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 10th, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause.

MR. EDWARD W. BEATTY

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—I wish to say a word by way of introduction in connection with the attitude of the railways and particularly that with which I am associated, towards the City of Toronto. You will recall that various matters have been sources of conflict between the City and the Companies and that one in particular, namely, the station facilities and water front situation, has given rise to a controversy extending over a great many years. Looking back on the situation in its first development many years ago with that wisdom which is incident to hindsight, it would be a hardy man that would suggest that the policies of the Railway Companies had either been fair or in their own interest. It is a singular thing but very common that when two parties come to grips over a matter not of great magnitude the intensity of the contest brings about an inelasticity in attitude which makes a comparatively simple problem difficult of solution. This

---

Edward W. Beatty, K.C., born in Ontario, was educated at University of Toronto; called to the Bar, 1909; Vice-President of C.P.R. 1915; President of C.P.R. since 1918; Chancellor of McGill University since 1921; and of Queen's University, Kingston, 1919-1923.

is what took place many years ago and was the inception of the difficulties of 1913 and 1923 so far as the City and the Railway Companies are concerned.

You know, too, of the existence of the agreement which constitutes a legal obligation upon the Grand Trunk Railway and its successors, the Canadian National, and the Canadian Pacific. You know as well of the changes in conditions which have taken place since that agreement was made. A project which was considered ambitious even at that time has reached proportions which, in figures are to me almost staggering. What the best Engineers available estimated including the station would cost between thirteen and fourteen millions is now estimated to cost almost three times that amount, while the benefit accruing to the Companies, the City and the Harbour are identical now to what they were when the plans were approved. I will admit frankly that none of us seem to be particularly concerned with large figures. The forced enormous expenditures of the last ten years have killed our sense of proportion and made us accept obligations with comparative equanimity which a few years ago would have left us paralyzed with apprehension.

A year or two ago when I was considering the Toronto situation and the necessity that something should be done as soon as conditions permitted it, I wondered whether the Companies were mistaken in their insistent demand that the proper solution was by means of bridges instead of a viaduct. I wondered if we had tied ourselves narrowly to one system because our technical advisers consistently held that to be the proper solution. In fact, gentlemen, I wondered whether our experts were right or whether they were quite honestly, no doubt, but mistakenly leading the Companies to adhere to a principle of grade separation which time might prove to be not the best in the interest of all the parties. So I decided that not being an Engineer, I would withhold my own opinion until I could receive the report of an independent expert whose views had not been obtained previously and who was not committed to any plan. We therefore retained Professor Swain, of Harvard University, one of the most note-worthy Engineering experts on the American Continent, whose reputation and work was well known to our Government and to all the large corporations in Canada and the United States. My instructions to him were to go to Toronto with his assistants, study the situation on the ground, consider every plan which had been prepared by any interest, the plans which were before the Railway Commission and the suggestions which, during this long controversy, had been made by any source whatever. I asked him to approach the situation as if there never had been any alternative scheme suggested by the Railway Companies or the City or the Harbour Board. I asked him to tell us exactly what he thought, whether or not the views were contrary to these expressed by the railway engineers or by any other expert. He made a protracted and thorough investigation. He had access to all the data prepared by any interest and he made a voluminous report which, I think, constitutes the most accurate history of the Toronto water front which has ever been made by any one man or group of men. Professor Swain's conclusions were that the Railway Companies' position was right in the interests of the City and the Harbour and the Companies and that any other solution would be inappropriate and would constitute a woeful waste of money at a time when these huge expenditures should be curtailed as much as was reasonably proper. Professor Swain's report did not change the terms of the existing agreement but it did constitute a valuable contribution to the expert consideration of your water front and was a distinct relief to me in that it exonerated the Railway Companies from the charge of being guilty of ill-considered opposition to the plans which had been previously submitted.

With these facts and this history before us, the President of the National Railways and myself reviewed the whole situation with our respective Chief Engineers. The result of that consideration and in a sincere desire to suggest some solution which would enable the work to be prosecuted and not take away from the other parties to the agreement any of the rights which they had obtained, we have submitted alternative plans for the consideration of the other interests. It would not be proper, probably, for me before an Association such as this to go into the merits of the plans which we have suggested. They are still awaiting the criticism of the technical advisors of the other parties to the agreement. My sole purpose in mentioning it to you now is to say that I hope that when the time comes if it becomes necessary that these plans shall be considered generally with your members, constituting as you do, a substantial representation of the business interests of the City, you will give them that consideration which I think they deserve. It is perfectly true that we must await the action of Parliament authorizing the necessary expenditure. I hope that may be speedily obtained because it is nothing short of a calamity that your magnificent station costing almost seven million dollars should remain idle when the facilities which it provides are so much needed by the citizens of this City.

This, gentlemen, is as far as I may, I think, with propriety discuss any matter of local interest and I am only mentioning it together with the reason for not discussing it lest a complete avoidance of it might be misunderstood.

Ever since Fate ordained that I should occupy my present position I have been asked for expressions of opinion on everything under the sun, and a good many things besides. It is therefore quite possible that your President invited me to be your guest today under the impression that by virtue of that position I am an authority on many public questions. Lest you should have any misapprehension on that score will you permit me to explain that I am not. I can only claim to have my own views on certain subjects as a result of a more or less close association with the business communities of Canada and am therefore in a position to guage with reasonable accuracy the problems of the country which are engrossing their attention. I have always found that the considered opinion of the business men of Canada which is not influenced to any great degree by political considerations represents the sound public sentiment of the country. Therefore, when in numerous excursions throughout Canada you find men's minds turned to two or three subjects you must conclude that these represent real problems and whether they are the subject of public discussion or otherwise inevitably must become so in due course.

It is just fifty years since Prince Edward Island entered Confederation, and fifty years is but a day in the history of the human race. If we consider the complex character of our people, the variety of races which we have adopted into the Canadian family, the extent of territory over which they are scattered, the diversity of their interests, the difference of languages and resulting handicap in intercommunication, we have cause to marvel that the Canadian nation in so brief a period has become so united as it is. Yet while we marvel, it is well to remember that the work of consolidation is not yet completed, that the East and West still have misunderstandings, that newcomers with alien traditions are still coming in as prospective citizens, that many of our new Canadians have still to learn the language of their adopted country.

Among the Fathers of Confederation, one of the most picturesque figures is that of D'Arcy McGee, an Irishman by birth who for two-thirds of his life was a rebel against British rule and who came to Canada not directly but by way of the United States. Eventually he became an ardent prophet of Canada's greatness and in 1860 addressed the Quebec House of Assembly in a speech notable for the often-quoted simile:—

> "I see in the not remote distance one great nationality, bound like the shield of Achilles by the blue rim of ocean."

Two years later in the same Assembly he made another speech in which he said:—

> "All we have to do is, each for himself, to keep down dissensions which can only weaken, impoverish and keep back the country; each for himself to do all he can to increase its wealth, its strength and its reputation; each for himself, you and you, gentlemen and all of us, to welcome every talent, to hail every invention, to cherish every gem of art, to foster every gleam of authorship, to honour every acquirement and every natural gift, to lift ourselves to the level of our destinies, to rise above all low limitations and narrow circumscriptions, to cultivate that true catholicity of spirit which embraces all creeds, all classes and all races, in order to make of our boundless province, so rich in known and unknown resources, a great new Northern nation."

In this inspiring passage I would first draw your attention to a phrase which is repeated three times, namely, the phrase "each for himself." Here I think is a view of the national spirit which of recent years has inclined to be obscured but which to my mind is vital to our progress and prosperity. How often in these days whenever any problem has to be faced, any enterprise has to be promoted, we hear at once the cry—"Why does not the Government do something?"—a cry which is not stayed until some Government department has been forced to undertake work which may not be the proper function of Government at all. Instead of each of us doing it for ourselves, we "leave it to George."

If I interpret rightly the message of D'Arcy McGee, the spirit that he calls for in the making of a nation is the spirit of personal co-operation. He does not call upon his fellow-citizens to call upon the Government, he does not call on them to label their efforts with the word "national." He does not ask them for friendly co-operation with each other, he encourages them to personally undertake the development of their country's natural resources, to support the Canadian artist, the Canadian author, the Canadian inventor, the Canadian of any special talent. He exhorts them above all to be high-minded and broad-minded.

Personal co-operation is naturally easier in a small community than in a wide Dominion, for in a small community all men and more particularly all women are neighbours and understand or at least talk about each other's problems. But the distances in Canada are such a handicap and so much of the population is new that East and West have not yet had time or opportunity to get well acquainted. It is not only that many Eastern Canadians have never seen the West. Per contra many Western Canadians have never seen the East. Thousands have entered the Prairie Provinces or British Columbia direct from the United States, and thousands saw nothing of Eastern Canada as they passed from Europe through St. John or Quebec to Winnipeg or the Pacific slope except the glimpses they may have snatched from the windows of a colonist car. Since then they have been absorbed in the problems either of making a fortune or of making ends meet. You cannot blame them, therefore, for lack of interest in Toronto's Union Station or the new drydock at St. John, any more than Toronto or St. John can keep awake at nights thinking of the wheat crop in the Prairie Provinces or the future of the Pacific Great Eastern Railway.

Canada is a country of vast resources and magnificent distances. This latter factor enters into all our political and, to a great degree, our commercial problems. I think it was Stephen Leacock who advocated the execution by slow torture of the man who invented near-beer on the ground that he was such a damn poor judge of distance. But the factor of distance, even more perhaps than the factor of racial origin, is the chief obstacle to Dominion-wide personal co-operation. In the case of the marketing of wheat, for instance, you find farmers of English, Irish, Scandinavian, American, German, Polish, and Ukrainian origin all combining in the formation of wheat pools; while in the Province of Quebec French Canadians and Anglo-Canadians unite in working for the development of the Port of Montreal. The same thing happens in your problems in Ontario. Groups and community organizations are formed to carry on certain works because geographically the individuals are neighbours. Occasional clashes arising from diversity of commercial interests would be very much lessened in this country if the people were in easier and closer touch with each other. Nothing could probably conduce so greatly to the elimination of the factor of distance as the inter-communication of the people of the several sections of the country and an understanding of the problems local to each. In this I am glad to say that the railways are being very materially aided by the motor car, the value of which as an aid to better acquaintance between people of different areas has been demonstrated with particular force in the Western United States of America and is bound to be increased in Canada as the opportunity is afforded more Canadians from the West to see the East and more from the East to see the

West either through touring for the purpose of pleasure, of education, or through conventions or other gatherings which result in personal contact between men and women otherwise remote from each other.

What we are suffering from, and it applies equally here as in the Far West, is lack of men, lack of capital, and lack of those forward policies which will enable the country to realize within a reasonable time its own manifest destiny. For several years public men and leaders in business life have been advocating immigration and still more immigration as the greatest immediate necessity of this country. Our policies have been evolved very slowly, and the evolution of them is not yet complete. Our progress has been disappointing, especially in comparison with the progress made in the other British Dominions. At first two objections were urged; the fact that there was considerable unemployment in the country and the fact that our great farming community was not prosperous. People urged upon the Government the non-necessity, in fact, the unwisdom of bringing labourers to Canada when there was a surplus of labour. They urged with equal vehemence that new land should not be put under cultivation when many of our Western farmers were conducting their operations at a loss. The combination of the two representations stayed the hand of the Government and little or nothing was done. We unconsciously forgot in our unwise caution our faith in the ultimate future of Canada, and we ourselves became the worst advertisers of the country. We forgot too that what we were not doing other Dominions were, with the result that in the past three years many thousands of immigrants, the pick of the English, Welsh and Scotch races, were induced to migrate to Australia and New Zealand, and even South America, countries which did not offer as good opportunities as Canada, and do offer better opportunities than the Home Land. Many men remain to come forward, but those that have gone and whom we have lost, were undoubtedly of a quality and character which would have made them very welcome citizens of this country.

But the fact that we have been slow in putting an aggressive policy into operation and in creating an organization which is necessary to make any measures effective, does not mean that the opportunity is lost. Great Britain, the United States, Scandinavian countries and portions of Southern Europe offer to this country many desirable immigrants of both the farming and artisan classes, whose advent to Canada could not help but enrich it commercially, economically and in time spiritually. I would not care to be grouped with those who advocate the immigration to Canada only of those of the farming classes or who desire to become farmers. I regard it just as essential that the door should be thrown open to clean, healthy, willing men of any class, because it is inconceivable that this country can reach its objective in the way of commercial prosperity unless there is a free market of desirable labour to supply our industries and add to the market for the produce of our farms.

When I say this, however, it must not be forgotten that Canada's wealth is in a great measure confined to its natural resources. Agriculture, Mines, Fisheries and Forests are, in the main, the source of our national wealth, and no one can deny the pre-eminently important part that agriculture plays in many parts of the country. The land is there, it is fertile land and men are not on it. It is being worked so as to produce wealth for the country. It is estimated that there are twenty-five million acres of vacant land within fifteen miles of existing railways in Western Canada. There are many vacant farms in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. There are many in Quebec. Can it be contended, with this great latent wealth lying dormant and contributing nothing to Canada's wealth, we are taking full advantage of the opportunities which nature has given us? Can it be contended that our minerals will be developed, that our forests will be utilized and that our enormous fishing possibilities can be properly exploited and that new industries can be created and present industries extended unless there are men and money available to do it? If we admit the presence of these latent resources and their non-use, we must concede that our case is akin to the biblical example of the man who buried his one talent.

But if the necessity of immigration is apparent, there is another corrective element to be considered in connection with our own economic conditions. The taxation of this country is heavy. Not heavy in relation to many other countries, but heavy considering the sparseness of our population and the fact that the country's wealth is largely potential. Some of them are direct imposts, the burden of which is always present in our minds because they are inescapable, and involve periodical drafts upon our individual exchequers in ways that are not concealed. Heavy income taxes being most direct are probably those taxes which are most severely felt, and a man who is heavily taxed becomes in time disgruntled and even a poor citizen.

It is essential that our taxes should, both because of what is happening in the United States and because of the financial support we must receive from our own people, if Canadian enterprise is to be developed, be reduced as soon as that may be properly done. And they can only be reduced if strict scrutiny of, and reduction in, our national and provincial and municipal expenditures is made. I know the necessity of this is keenly appreciated by our public men, and probably by no one so deeply as the distinguished Minister of Finance.

Economy is not an attractive word, nor an exhilarating slogan. People are never disposed to cheer the speaker who advocates retrenchment. Spending is always more attractive and, therefore, more popular. We will never, perhaps, escape the necessity of large expenditures, but such as are reasonable must, I think, for the next few years, be of a productive character. We should spend for the purpose of development or for the purpose of securing greater economy. We should not, however, embark on any capital expenditures of doubtful value or those which might be termed luxuries. If, in the course of two or three years of rigorous scrutiny of national, provincial and municipal budgets, our total expenditures are reduced even from 25 per cent. to 30 per cent., we will have reduced our annual financial necessities to a point which would permit us to consider a reasonable reduction in the country's tax imposts. When that time arrives we will be able to say to ourselves that by our own efforts and sanity we have not only lightened our own burdens, but offer still further inducements to those who appreciate living in a country which expects a moderate amount from its citizens, who will, therefore, be in a position to assist in its own advancement.

The attention of the railway companies has recently been called by public bodies to the advisability in their opinion of reducing wages and salaries in order that freight rates should be reduced. No group of men could possibly be more convinced of the necessity of the reduction of railway operating costs than the Canadian Railway Managers. Our struggle has been to prevent greater inflation, because, as you know, the major portion of railway expenses is, in the main, uncontrollable, fixed for us by market conditions as far as material is concerned and determined in many cases by independent tribunals in the case of wage adjustments. While the relative position changes from time to time a comparison shows that the percentage of wage increases since 1917 still exceeds by a substantial amount the percentage of the increase in the cost of living during that period. By a peculiar anomaly wages in this country and in the United States are fixed with relation to the cost of living, but unfortunately high wages is one of the elements which contributes most largely to high cost of living. So long as wages are high, therefore, the cost of living will be high. It is difficult, however, to convince tribunals that in their pronouncements on this subject they have really got the cart before the horse, and so long as the cost of living is the basis for fixing wages, wages will be high because it cannot be substantially reduced if the wage scales are disproportionately great. In recent years there has been a lamentable lack of interest on the part of the public as to whether wages or costs were high or otherwise, and also a discouraging lack of support in the face of possible strikes or other embarassments in consequence of the effort of employers to bring wages down. We in Canada have suffered too by the extraordinary, and some observers think, temporary, prosperity in the United States which has, in effect, meant more inflation and has tended by its reflected influence to keep up wages in Canada, where the conditions of commercial prosperity did not exist to the same extent.

I mentioned in a very general way and have really only touched upon them in passing one or two of the problems which serious-minded Canadians are considering. I believe that the spirit of true Canadianism is best evidenced by a calm dispassionate consideration of the business communities of the economic facts upon which the country's future must depend. This has been done recently in several different forms and in one instance in a way which is calculated to destroy confidence in Canada in countries who must have confidence in us if we are to obtain the support from them we are entitled to receive. I do not believe in exaggerated whisperings or in any statements which are calculated to destroy the belief of Canadians in their own country. Perhaps it is more a matter of form or of inapt phraseology than an attempt to belittle or injure the country. Whatever facts we require to know can be developed frankly and honestly, not with the idea of reproaching administrators or Governments but with the sole purpose of bringing to bear upon the policies designed to better and improve existing conditions the mature judgment of business men whose stake is in Canada and whose hearts are loyally Canadian.

HON. HOWARD FERGUSON, Premier of Ontario, expressed the thanks of the Club to President Beatty for his very interesting address.

CANADA'S FUTURE AS AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY

AN ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN S. MARTIN, B.A., M.L.A., MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE FOR ONTARIO.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 17, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced Hon. Mr. Martin, who said:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—I regard this gathering as an evidence of interest in one of the most important problems before the country at this time. The future of our agricultural industry is a matter of great import, not alone to those directly engaged in the industry, but as well to the people of the towns and cities. It is a commonplace, but none the less a truth, that the prosperity of agriculture is at the basis of prosperity in a country like this.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. Let us recall briefly the historical facts so as to get the setting for our present conditions and problems. Let us take the long view and note the progress of the past fifty years. The figures are almost staggering. Fifty years ago there were only a little over a 100,000 bushels of wheat grown west of Ontario, and the past year there were over 446,000,000 bushels as well as an equal number of millions of bushels of

---

Hon. John S. Martin, B.A., M.L.A., was educated in the schools of Port Dover, the University of Toronto, and the Ontario Normal College. After teaching for a brief period, he took up Agriculture and specialized in high-grade White Wyondotte poultry. Very successful as a winner of prizes at poultry shows, he has built up a large export trade covering almost every quarter of the globe. He was appointed Minister of Agriculture, July 16, 1923, and is an effective speaker.

other grains. To look at it in another way, there were 1,646,000 acres under cultivation in 1871 and about fifty millions fifty years later.

The growth in population and growth in wealth have accompanied the development which these figures indicate and which has all taken place within the period of fifty years—a brief period in the life of a nation. Even in the past ten years, to make it a more recent comparison, the acreage in wheat has been doubled and there have been similar great increases in all classes of production.

METHODS AND CONDITIONS OF LIVING. Along with this development there have been remarkable changes in the methods of production and the conditions of living. The past fifty years have witnessed the great development of the use of machinery as applied to farming. It is estimated that, if the work on the farms of Canada necessary to produce the crop of last year had all been done by hand, it would have required four times as many people to handle the crop as were actually engaged. The introduction of machinery has radically changed agricultural methods and has therefore necessarily had a great bearing on the distribution of population as between the country and the centres. With this development of machinery for farm operations, there has been an equally marked development in the conveniences and environment surrounding the farm.

The little red school house and the mission and the church have made education and Christian influences available in all parts of the country. The rapid extension of telephones, the development of good roads, the use of the automobile and, in a limited number of cases, the availability of electricity, have all had their bearing on farm life. It is safe to say from a survey of these facts that, in spite of the handicaps which still exist, there is no country in the world under which farming is carried on under better conditions than in Canada to-day. (Applause)

Distribution of Population. An important chapter in this development has to do with not only the increase in population but the distribution of population as among the different sections of Canada. In 1871, only 2.96% of the population of Can-
28.37% of the population west of the Great Lakes.
ada was west of the Great Lakes. In 1921, there was
This naturally has an important bearing on the relative position of our own Province of Ontario. In 1871, the people of Ontario made up 43.94% of the population of Canada; in 1921, the people of Ontario made up only 33.38% of the population of Canada. This does not mean that Ontario herself has gone back. The reverse is true. It simply means that her relation to Canada as a whole has changed.

This brings us to the fact that the old Province of Ontario has made most substantial contributions in both men and money to the upbuilding of the Western Provinces of Canada. When we talk about rural depopulation in Ontario, we must remember that many of the best farmers and farmers' sons of this Province left their homes to develop a new country in the west. What has been Ontario's loss has been Canada's gain. No one can look over the recent history of this country without noticing the positions of prominence and influence which the sons of Ontario have filled in Western Canada, and this has meant a great deal, perhaps more than we can appreciate, in the steadying of conditions and the maintenance of the highest British ideals and conditions in the transition period of this new country.

As to the Future. Now as to the future. Attempting to look into the future is a hazardous pastime at any time but is perhaps particularly so now. To-day, however, we are taking the long view and hence we are on surer ground. There are those who are pessimistic as to the agricultural future of Canada. I am not one of these.

Taking the long view, we cannot but realize that Canada has come through much more trying times than those in which we find ourselves at the present time. There have been dark days and days of depression but these have invariably been followed by sunshine and prosperity. We must recognize that our basic conditions are sound and and we still have, undeveloped, a vast wealth of resources which will give profitable employment to a vastly greater population than we have to-day. Therefore, I believe that agriculture will continue to be the basic industry of Canada and the keystone of our development and prosperity.

CHANGING TENDENCIES. But there will be changing tendencies in our lines of development. In looking over the figures of the past fifty years, one is struck by the fact that, while the acreage under crop has increased enormously, while the production has made Canada the greatest wheat exporting country in the world, there has not been anything like a corresponding increase in live stock production. In the last fifty years, the number of milch cows has scarcely trebled, the number of beef cattle has increased a little more than three times, and the number of swine just a little more than twice. The number of sheep is only a few thousand greater than fifty years ago. Contrast these facts with the abnormal increase in acreage, and we have surely one of the outstanding features of our agricultural history of the last fifty years. The fact is that the older Provinces have increased somewhat but the newer Provinces have gone into these lines only slightly. Hence, I believe that, though there are still millions of acres, both in the older Provinces and the newer Provinces, which will repay cultivation, the most notable development of the next twenty-five or fifty years will be along the lines of live stock. This means more diversified and specialized farming. It has been the experience of Old Ontario that those farmers who took up a speciality and made a success of it have been the ones who have proven most prosperous. There is, of course, only a limited extent to which real specialized farming can be carried without overdoing the market but there is vast room for the development of diversified farming, and this is what is taking place in the West at the present time.

It is only six or seven years ago since the first carload of butter was shipped out of Western Canada. Before that time Ontario had been shipping butter into the West. To-day upwards of 40,000,000 lbs. of creamery butter are produced in the Prairie Provinces, the combined output of which is rapidly creeping up to the output of Ontario.

The explanation of this is simple and is to be found in the relative purchasing power of different commodities. It has been figured that the purchasing power of wheat in the middle of December was only 60½% of the purchasing power of commodities in general, but that of butter was 108½%. This shows how the operation of the economic law is bringing about diversified farming and this development may be expected to continue. It will mean that we must look to the British market as an outlet for our surplus more than ever before, and it means keener competition for Ontario and for Canada in general in the markets of the world. While I do not wish to enter into matters of political controversy, I have no hesitation in saying that a preference in the British market would be most effective in the agricultural development of this country as well as of other parts of the Empire in the years which lie immediately ahead. (Applause)

THE STORY OF NEW ZEALAND. The necessity of adapting farming operations to changing conditions was never more clearly brought out than in the case of New Zealand. For many years the principal industry of the New Zealand farmer was the production of beef and mutton for the British market. Excessive shipping charges and keen competition of other countries less remote made it absolutely imperative that the New Zealand farmers specialize in other lines. They turned to dairying and to-day they are second only to Denmark in the exports of butter to Great Britain, and first in exports of cheese, Canada for the first time taking second place. They went at it in a business-like manner and to-day the average size of a dairy herd in New Zealand is four or five times as large as the average herd in Canada And although a very small country, their energy and efficiency have been an outstanding example for the whole world. Canada has many advantages over New Zealand. (1) We are much nearer the British market. (2) We can make much better use of the by-products, such as skim-milk and whey. (3) We have a much better home market and we have splendid dairy schools and an excellent system of general dairy instruction. However, with these advantages it behooves us to be up and doing.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE. In order that the agricultural future of Canada may be all it should be, there are some problems which require solution and which may be mentioned at this time.

First, there is the economic problem involved in the bringing about of adjustments which will put the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar back where it was before the war. If you look over the prices which are being paid to-day for commodities as they leave the farmer's gate, you will see that the prices are practically what they were before the war. This is not true of prices as they reach the consumer, and neither is it true of the prices of commodities which the farmer must buy in order to carry on his business. It is easier to state the problem than to offer a remedy, but the problem is there and its solution is fundamental to our real agricultural development.

Then another of our problems is immigration. It is most apparent that one of the most vital needs of

Canada is more people, especially upon the land. The lure of the great country to the south is very strong and thousands of our young men are leaving the farms each year. This has produced a great scarcity of farm labour and to-day many of our best farmers are carrying on under most discouraging conditions. It is of vital importance that this need be relieved at once, and to fill this need farm help must be brought in to take the place of those who have left. Great care should be taken in the selection of these people and preference should be given to people of the same character and national instincts as those at present here, as it is of the utmost importance that Canada remain truly British in character. (Applause) After exhausting the possibilities in Great Britain it would be well to turn our attention to Denmark, Holland and other countries of Northern Europe. These people live under conditions similar to those in Canada, and it has been proved by experience that they assimilate well.

Then there is the question of education as it affects agriculture. I have always maintained that if we wish to produce a race of people who will love the land and will wish to remain upon it, the whole trend of our present system of education is wrong. In my own case, looking back, there was never anything in my whole school training in the public or high school to suggest that I remain upon the farm or that farming was a desirable occupation. The trend at all times was away from the farm towards city or professional life. It is my hope and wish that some modifications of our present School Course may be introduced so that the desirability and opportunity of country life will be brought home more effectively to the pupils of our public and high schools. To make farming profitable, we must have highly trained farmers and this education and instruction must begin in the public school. (Applause)

In my opinion the farmer of Canada has not kept step with the times. With the complication of modern society, business has organized on a gigantic scale. The day of the small individual has to a great extent passed. Competition has forced firms either to consolidate or go to the wall. Economy and efficiency are vital to success. The farmers must combine if they are going to market their products effectively. As an example of this, I would just refer to the British Columbia Fruit Growers' Association and the splendid way they market their products, also to the New York State Dairymen's League. This League practically controls the sale and distribution of milk and milk products within a 300-mile radius of New York, and the prices to the farmers are uniform in that whole district. Similar plans can be carried out in Ontario in marketing such products as dairy products, fruit, eggs, honey, etc. The farmer works very hard and should be entitled to a fair recompense. To many a farmer an eight-hour day means eight hours before dinner and eight hours after dinner.

I do not believe the general public realizes what the hours of the farmer are. Take the example of a man who is testing his dairy cows. To get the nearest maximum production from those cows they must be milked four times in twenty-four hours. That means that they must be milked at 6 o'clock in the morning, 12 o'clock noon, 6 o'clock afternoon, and 12 o'clock at night. Now, can you figure out how the farmer is going to get very much time for sleep? A man who has a dairy herd under test has a real job, long hours—almost slavish hours. Try to realize that thousands of Canadian farmers who are testing their cows, are willing to do that, to give their time, in order to secure the greatest amount of production, to improve the herd, and all that. We do not realize what a great task such men have before them. For that reason I feel that we should be sympathetic towards the whole business. (Applause)

With reference to co-operation, I feel that it is necessary for the salvation of the farmer and the salvation of the farmer is necessary for the salvation of the general public. A particularly marked example of co-operation is Denmark. For over forty years they have most successfully carried on practical co-operation. For example, they assemble individual products and ship in bulk. They also purchase, in bulk, nitrate and other articles used on the farm. They apply to lessons of modern business and as a result the Danish farmer is prosperous and the Danish people are supplied with the very finest food products. More than 86% of the Danish farmers are members of local co-operative associations. Nearly 90% of the milk goes to the local co-operative creameries and as a result more than 92% of the farmers of Denmark own the land they cultivate. This achievement is remarkable when one recalls the fact that about fifty years ago the soil of Denmark had been virtually exhausted by centuries of production.

Up to 50 years ago they had been grain-growers, but just like New Zealand they saw they must change. Premier Massey made a shipment of 150 head of cattle to England, and the returns did not pay the transportation charges, so that it was a case where they had to do something; it was not a case of willingness, but of compulsion; they were right up against the wall, so they turned their attention to the production of something that would break down the transportation charges, something that they could ship with a profit to the British market. That something was dairying.

Denmark had the very same experience. They had been producing grain, but the United States and Argentina came into the market. These countries could produce grain more cheaply, their land not being so valuable, and producing larger crops. For centuries the farmers in Denmark had been feeding the land with artificial fertilizers, yet they could not produce grain at a profit, so they took up the production of bacon hogs and eggs, and to-day there is not an agricultural country in the world more prosperous than Denmark. It was simply a case of adaptation through actual conditions.

Then last, but not least, there is the problem of citizenship involved in the better understanding between the people of the city and the country. They each have their part to play and that part should be taken with an understanding of the problems of the other and sympathy with the difficulties of the other. Instead of bitterness or class hatred, there should be substituted both in feeling and in action the spirit of co-operation causing all to realize that they are first of all citizens of Canada and owe a common duty to the country which is so great a heritage. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BROOKS: Gentlemen, in introducing Hon. Mr. Martin I referred to Sir John Martin Harvey as a former speaker before this Club, a gentleman who has done much for Art and Literature not only in Canada but in the Old Land and the world over, a gentleman whom it is always a pleasure to have with us, and he has consented to make a few remarks.

SIR JOHN MARTIN HARVEY.

Sir John was received with loud applause and said:—

Mr. President, my esteemed Namesake, and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—I feel this is taking a rather unfair advantage, for there was an understanding that if I was able to accept your hospitality I should not be called on to address you, because I always feel that to address a distinguished assembly like the Empire Club of Toronto is a very serious matter which requires great and grave deliberation, and is not to be taken up lightly. So, Gentlemen, you must look upon my few words merely as a grateful acknowledgment of your kindness in welcoming me here to-day. I remember very vividly two or three previous occasions on which I had the honour of addressing you on a rather more serious note than I shall assume to-day. First of all, I owe you my profound apology for arriving so late, but it reminded me of the magnificant and unerring showmanship of my dear old Chief, Sir Henry Irving, who always contrived to do a thing in such a manner as to attract the largest amount of attention. (Laughter) I think, Gentlemen, that fine showmanship of that sort is a very admirable thing. (Laughter) I have laboured at it all my life, and have never been quite able to achieve it. I also ought to apologize to the Club for not having come last week, but I am at the mercy of the Secretary, and some confusion arose. Well, Gentlemen, when I tell you that one day I have to be Oedipus, and another day I have to be Hamlet, and another day I have to be Petruchia, and another day Stillemonde, you will understand that any sense of my own identity becomes somewhat obscure and I find it very difficult to keep a clear eye upon my actual life instead of the life of the imagination which I have to lead every night. Gentlemen, I am not going to keep you, except to express my very deep interest in the address which our friend, the Hon. John Martin, has given us to-day. (Hear, hear) One or two points struck me very forcibly. You may wonder that I should be struck forcibly by any question of agriculture, which does not appear to have very much connection with the stage, but it is not so remote as you would think. One of our most distinguished actors in the history of British drama, Betterton, was reported to have been as good a farmer at Reading as he was a tragedian at Drury

Lane; and if there is one ideal of true life which is present with the actor more than any other I think it is the ideal of leading a country life. (Applause) You noticed what immense enthusiasm greeted the remarks of Mr. Martin on the magnificance of the country life. It is almost pathetic because here we are. It is because we are all compelled to live in the city that we greet with enthusiasm such a remark as that. (Laughter) We do envy Mr. Martin's pleasure of spending so much time in the country. Another thing that struck me was the question of preference which should be given by Britain for the output of Canada. I am not going to venture upon any political matters, but that point struck me very forcibly, and I hope and pray most profoundly that that can be arranged. (Hear, hear, and applause) What is so frightfully difficult, Gentltmen,—and you must have felt it, too— is to get our people at home to realize the enormous vitality and future and doings and achievements on the other side of the sea. I wish the British Government could all be brought over here to Canada, and then to New Zealand, then to South Africa, then to Australia, and come in touch with the life of these places, because they do not seem to be half awake to the potentiality of them. (Loud applause) They are dull and stupid and parochial. I hope they will report me in London. (Laughter) Though I do not suppose that anything I can say will have very much weight in Westminster, but if we all hammer away at the same point perhaps something will be achieved ultimately. The other point was immigration. That was a strong point you made, Mr. Martin, and I strongly believe in the profound sense of what you say in regard to it. Immigration is not an unmixed blessing, and I agree with you when you say that it should be, to a certain extent, restricted—modified, at all events —in the direction of welcoming to your shores those who are likely to assimilate racially. I think I may be forgiven if I say that to a visitor like myself to the United States, no problem is so great as that of the assimilation of the people who have migrated to that country, who have no sympathy, who have no racially common ground. That is the difficulty. When we go to the States if we could only get at your true American we should know where we were; but it is this immense dilution of racial qualities which are remote from our understanding and sympathy—I will not say unsympathetic—that makes the United States such a difficult problem for us to deal with. It is because you have given more care to the selection of your immigrants that you have preserved the British tradition which we look for in Canada, and which we so very deeply and gratfully acknowledge. Well, Gentlemen, I did not intend to speak half as long as this—but the fact of the matter is that Mr. Martin aroused so many reflections upon this question which did not occur to me before I came, that I have been tempted to speak far too much. Well, there you are. Thank you very much indeed, and I should have been only too happy to give you a proper address such as was within my modest scope, but the fact is that our presence in Toronto at this time has been to realize an old promise that when I came back to Canada I should bring in addition to our old plays, which you have so kindly supported hitherto, our biggest and most expensive productions. Well, I made that promise; I have done it; here we are, and my staff and company are almost dead. You have no idea what it is to bring across the water and transport to these various big centres eight complete productions. When I tell you that one entire production is completed in the afternoon and then swept off the stage and another entire production is put up for the public to see, in about two and a half hours' time, perhaps you can realize what an enormous strain it is on my company and staff. Well, we are pulling along; we are still alive, and we have to continue and carry on, but we do need all your support, Gentlemen, and if I am not able to come here as often and stop as long as I should like it is simply because the strain of my work in my own particular job is about as much as I can stand. (Loud applause)

THE VICE-PRESIDENT, MR. JOHN O'CONNOR, expressed in happy terms the thanks of the Club to the speaker.

ON BEING SORRY FOR OURSELVES

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR BERNARD K. SANDWELL.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 24th, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—May I, before starting on the substance of this very serious address, express the very great pleasure that it affords me to be back in Toronto and meet so many old friends once more. I am afraid I am inescapably a Toronto product, although I was not born here, but I spent the four most important years of my school life here, and the four years of my university career here; and were it not for the presence of some gentlemen who participated in the business of educating me, and whom I should not like to embarrass, I might pause here to pay a few tributes to the educational facilities which I enjoyed. (Laughter) It is always a very great pleasure to get back to that city which, more than any other city—although I have lived in Montreal now for a matter of twenty-three years, and in Kingston for three months—is really that which feels to me like home. I am not willing to admit that I received the whole of my education in Toronto. I have enjoyed exceptional facilities in the matter of education, because I early discovered the fact that it is

---

Mr. Sandwell is a graduate of the University of Toronto, with the gold medal in Classics. After completing his course in Arts, he spent some time in journalism. Later he became a professor in McGill University, and is now English professor in Queen's. He is one of the founders of the Canadian Authors' Association, and was its secretary.

possible to get people to pay you for becoming educated—for educating yourself.

Immediately after I left the University I went into the newspaper profession. There is no profession into which a young man knowing nothing can enter so readily (laughter) and in which he will so rapidly acquire, if he has any intelligence whatever, a very useful, impressive, catholic and widespread education concerning the affairs of the world. (Laughter) So I educated myself at the expense of the Montreal Herald and the general public of Montreal for quite a number of years on quite a number of subjects. (Laughter) Then later I drifted from that into financial journalism, for which I had no educational prerequisites, and acquired a certain amount of education in that at the expense of the readers of the Financial Times. (Laughter) Having got started in the subject of Economics by that means, I was invited to come up to McGill University and to learn economics up there by the sole efficient means of learning anything, namely, that of teaching it to students. (Laughter) For six or seven years I taught Economics to some students with more or less success, and to myself with great pleasure, and I think advantage; and having learned all the Economics that I thought was really necessary to a good career in Canada, I received an invitation to come to Queen's University and to learn English Literature at the expense of that institution, which I am now doing. (Laughter) When I have finished—when I have learned all the English Literature which I consider necessary to me—I shall look around and see if somebody will not appoint me to a chair in Theology in order that I may become somewhat learned in that really important subject. (Laughter)

So that you will see that I am an exceptionally widely-educated man. I do not put that forward as a boast, because it is quite possible to be a widely-educated man and to be a perfect fool. (Laughter) You will be in an adequate position to judge whether my education has been of any advantage to me or not by the time I reach the end of my address.

My removal to Kingston, which is a quiet, peaceful, reflective sort of a place (laughter) has given me an opportunity to do a lot of serious thinking about the age in which we live, and that serious thinking has taken form in this address, which I have been practising on less distinguished gatherings than this for three or four months, and which I am now venturing to put forward to a real audience.

It has been borne in upon me by my consecutive study of Economics and English Literature that there is abroad to-day both in Economics and Literature a very profound spirit of unrest and apprehension, and indeed in most quarters an absolute, flat pessimism. The age is an age which is decidedly sorry for itself; and I want to discuss that fact, and to deplore it—it is no use discussing a fact that you do not deplore; we never discuss facts that everybody is satisfied with. (Laughter) I want to discuss that fact, to deplore it, and suggest some means by which we may possibly remedy it.

I shall not take time—because I have not very much time this morning—to prove that the age is a pessimistic age. In any case it would be a work of supererogation before an audience of this kind; you are all of you familiar with the current trend of literature, and most of you probably also with the current trend of Economic thought. I may, however, take the liberty of referring to the utterances in this city not more than 45 hours ago of a distinguished colleague of mine, Prof. Malcolm Wallace, Professor of English in one of our institutions, who discussed the present state of the Novel, described it as a position of decided unrest and pessimism, and blamed that position, quite rightly, entirely on the age in which the present novel is being produced. With that I rest, and need go no further. (Laughter)

But we may find plenty of evidence of the pessimism of the age without having to read Novels. You may find it in the daily Press every day. In fact, on previous occasions when I wanted to deliver this address I just had to produce the latest number of a daily paper such as the Globe and to read the headlines to prove that the attitude of the age is one of pessimism. If you want to go still further you can take the editorial column of the Toronto Telegram (great laughter); but that is an extreme example (laughter) and I would hesitate to bolster up any serious argument by such an extreme instance.

What a change is this, Gentlemen, from the days of my youth? I was brought up in this city in the noble nineties. Now, it is true that the nineties in England were beginning to develop this twentieth century pessimism of ours, but it had not reached this somewhat outlying portion of the British Empire before the end of the nineteenth century, and in those nineties we were cheerful, we were happy, we were contented. Why, I can remember a Toronto in which everything was for the best in the best of all possible worlds. I can remember a Toronto in which everything that Goldwin Smith said or believed was necessarily wrong—(laughter)—because Goldwin Smith was always a pessimist, and it followed that the rest of Toronto was optimistic. I can remember a Toronto in which the rising spectre of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was perhaps the only fly in the ointment, the only cloud on the horizon; and it could always be reflected that Sir Wilfrid was only mortal and would eventually pass out. I can remember a Toronto in which the Toronto street-car franchise was the ultimate and final solution of all urban transportation problems. (Laughter) The whole question of how to operate the local transport of a great city, a great and growing city, was solved by that franchise when I was a young man. I can remember a Toronto in which the ravages of socialism were checked, stopped, walled off for good by the simple process of prohibiting public meetings in Queen's Park. (Laughter) I can remember a Toronto in which it was admitted that Europe had its problems, but Europe was a long way off, and was handicapped by age and the number of survivals of illogical institutions, and those problems would be solved in due course by a gradual migration of the population of Europe to the wide and fertile plains of Canada. (Laughter) I can remember a Toronto in which those immigrants who came from Europe, and settled in the wide and fertile plains of Canada, were expected to become perfectly good and satisfactory Canadian citizens just like ourselves after five years or so of Canadian education, and as the result of the gift of the Canadian ballot; and nobody dreamed of worrying that they would ever give us any trouble. They would learn in that short five years to buy our products, and, still more than that, to vote for our policies; and that was all that we expected of them. (Laughter)

Those were happy, confident, spacious days. I won't mention the names of the great financiers who were bringing into Canada the money that helped us to be so happy and so spacious and so confident, nor of the undertakings for the assistance of which they were bringing them in—very good undertakings, but some of them are now giving us some trouble. (Laughter)

I remember a Toronto in which the admirably true phrase—the 20th century was to be Canada's—was accepted as the general watchword; only nobody had begun to realize what a rotten century the twentieth was going to be. (Laughter)

What a change, Gentlemen, is our attitude in the present time? What are the causes of the pessimism that I have asked you to admit to be rather generally prevalent amongst us now-a-days? In part, surely, they are the excessive expectations that were entertained in those good old days. When you have a period of excessive optimism, and an optimism that is rather extensively based on economic factors —upon the growing wealth and growing development of the community, and not their spiritual advancement—you are fairly certain to have a period of reaction, and we are now in that period of reaction and experiencing it very strongly.

The optimism of the 19th century ran over into the opening years of the 20th, at which time Europe and even the United States—that most confident, most optimistic, not to say Pollyannistic, of all nations,—was beginning to question whether all the institutions under which it had grown up were exactly what they had purported to be during the whole of the nineteenth century. But we in Canada went on being very cheerful and optimistic, right up to the restriction of credit about the year 1913, which was simply a fore-runner, a fore-warning, if we had known it, of the arrival of the war. And then in the war we had our grand climax of optimism—a rather artificially-induced optimism, and it was not our fault so much as it was due to the artificially-induced optimism in the United States. We were told that the world was then going through a struggle which was to have the effect of readjusting it, of restoring it to the Golden Age; that we were having a war which was to end war, which was to wind up in a state of universal brotherhood, with everybody loving everybody else, and every community falling upon the neck of all its sister communities.

Our expectations were very greatly aroused. They had to be aroused, I think, to a very great extent, and I have no complaint to make against the men who aroused them. When a nation is being carried through a great and protracted and extremely difficult and painful war, a very active stimulus must be resorted to, and I am not disposed to criticize those statesmen and leaders and others who did ask us to be a little more optimistic than the circumstances warranted. But we are paying for that jag of optimism. We have come through the war; we have got to a reasonable distance from it; we find that it has not ended war, that there does not seem to be any prospect of it ending war; that the world is not particularly better than it was before the war; that its morals are not visibly improved; that the distribution of wealth and poverty is not visibly better; and altogether that the war has not done any of the things that we were told it was going to do; and we are very much embittered and disappointed about it. We shall recover in due course; the whole object of this address of mine is to see whether you can recover a little more rapidly than you otherwise would. (Laughter)

By what right are we demanding all those good things the absence of which is so greatly disappointing us? By what right do we suggest that we are entitled to peace upon earth? When human nature has been radically changed, when men are no longer selfish individually, when they are all unselfish and perfectly honest individually, then I presume nations equally will become all unselfish and perfectly honest, willing to deal with one another as brothers and sisters instead of as outsiders. When we have reached that stage I think then we shall be entitled to complain at the arising of war. At the present moment most of our characteristics are such as are bound at intervals, when developed to a fairly strong point in a given community, to lead to a conflict with other communities.

I do not see that we have any right, in the present state of the world, to complain that peace is not established universally and permanently, and that war still raises its head as a possibility.

By what right do we demand that industrial peace shall be permanent and unbroken and eternally assured? We shall have the right to make that demand when we in business are all members of one family, one with another, all treating our fellow-men as a brother, and nobody trying to get any advantage over anybody else. (Hear hear). When we have done that we shall have a right to demand industrial peace. At the present moment all that we can do with the industrial situation is to endeavour to mitigate its evils as fast as we possibly can; but to expect that there will be no evils in the industrial situation is to expect the utterly unattainable, and to ensure disappointment and bitterness.

By what right do we demand—as I see people demanding all around me—absolute security for all our possessions? By what right do we demand that banks shall never be allowed to fail? (Laughter) By what right do we demand that prices, although they shall be permitted to go up—because that involves a profit to somebody—shall never be permitted to go down—because that involves a loss to somebody else? So long as business is carried on by human means in the present unbusinesslike manner—and I feel very strongly in regard to this after my five or six years' experience as an economist—there will be losses as well as gains, and unfortunately it is in the nature of human affairs that those losses will very largely fall upon the people who have perhaps least deserved them, because the people who have most deserved them have most skill in protecting themselvevs against them. (Laughter and applause)

By what right do we demand that the community in which we dwell shall be a perfect community and shall allow us the fullest expression of our individuality, and at the same time conform to our ideas of what the individuality of everybody else ought to be? (Laughter) Most of you probably have read that admirable and typical work by Mr. Masters—the Spoon River Anthology—a collection of epitaphs written on themselves by the deceased persons who at one time were members of the community of Spoon River—everyone of them an accusation levelled against that community; the accusation—"You made me what I am to-day; I hope you are satisfied." And that is the attitude we take towards the community, the prevalent attitude of a man towards the community to-day—that it owes him a duty, the duty of allowing himself complete and full self-expression, and yet at the same time he seems to think also that it owes him the duty of making everybody else conform to his ideas of how everybody ought to behave—a very complex requirement to make of any community; and no man has any right to require of any community more than he has put into it. (Hear, hear, and applause) The man who is willing to do his best to perfect and develop his own character, under such restrictions as must necessarily be put upon any individual in the community, will be doing what he can to ensure that the community will be as good a community as it can possibly be, and his fellow-men will have the same opportunity to develop themselves.

To whom is it that we present the unreasonable demands that I have just been enumerating? Not to ourselves; none of us go out and undertake to do any individual work for the satisfaction of any of those demands. Occassionally we form a society for the satisfaction of them. I am not referring to the Canadian Authors' Association, which I myself assisted to form not long ago, because that is a perfectly harmless society; it is only for the purpose of improving the Copyright Act, and the business status of authors. (Laughter) We are constantly forming societies for the suppression of war, for the suppression of alcohol, for the suppression of industrial conflicts, and various other things, but in the main our activities both as individuals and in these organizations are directed to demanding that the government shall step in and regulate something or other, or enact something or other which we want enacted. (Applause)

We have ceased to undertake to do anything for ourselves. We have recourse to the government every day for things that ought to be done and can only be efficiently done by the individual citizen. (Hear, hear)

What are some of the demands that we are presenting to governments at the present time? We are demanding, for one thing, that the government shall stop wars and rumours of wars—that I have referred to already; that it shall stop banks from failing; that it shall stop people from getting divorces—or make it easier to get divorces, according to the way we think; that it shall stop churches from getting united, or get them united, according to the way we happen to think; that it shall stop the over-production or under-production of certain classes of goods; that it shall stop too high wages and too low wages; that it shall stop strikes. In Quebec the other day we demanded that it should stop cows from walking about on the road at night without lamps on. (Great laughter)

Some of us are very energetically calling upon it to keep down forest fires. I never knew a government that started a forest fire; it is individuals that start forest fires. And so forth, and so on—that it shall regulate the morals of students in universities; we do not always appeal to the government for that, but we always appeal to some body. The authorities of Queen's University are very busily occupied much of their time—which ought to be devoted to much more important things—in determining how much light or how little light should be tolerated at certain stages of undergraduate dances in the evening. (Laughter)

Now, we seem to have adopted the attitude, in our dealings with governments, that the authority of government is something unlimited, something which can be invoked, turned on, fired in any direction to achieve any given end, simply as the result of the pressure of bodies, the vote of the community, as if governmental authority were a sort of hydro-electric power, and all you had to do was to harness it and run a wire to the place where it is to be provided. governmental authority is nothing of the kind. The exercise of governmental authority is one of the most expensive privileges that any community can enjoy. The more you ask the government to do, the more the government will have to collect out of your pockets for doing it; and if what you want it to do is something that you can do yourselves you will find that the government will charge you ten times what it would cost you to do it yourselves.

In the spacious nineties, although we were beginning to be a little reliant on authority, there was a good deal left to the individual in Canada. An example: I was a student in the University in the nineties, students were not compelled in those days to attend lectures. It was left to the individual student to determine whether a lecture was good enough for him to attend, or whether it was not. (Laughter) I do not believe there is an institution in Canada in which that is the case to-day. We have undertaken to apply regulation and compulsion to everybody, and personally I would far rather feel that the students who attend my lectures, or who do not attend them or who would not attend them, as the case might be, were coming or staying away in the exercise of their own more or less adult wisdom, and thereby developing their characters and their judgment, than to feel that they were herded in before me like a flock of sheep nine hours every week to sit passive, open-mouthed and open-eared, while I poured the true milk of the literary word into them. (Laughter)

I am glad to say that the gentlemen at whose feet I sat in Toronto University, and who are here with us this afternoon, are gentlemen whose lectures I attended with great regularity, for they were good lectures, (applause); and even in those days I had considerable judgment—which I formed and developed and perfected in those four years at the University—as to what constituted a good and profitable lecture, and what did not. Look at the results. (Renewed laughter)

Things used to be left then to the individual. Very little is left now to the individual, except to violate law. (Laughter) And in those days, I think also, a little more than is now left used to be left to God. We pay so much attention to the government that we leave God out of sight now-a-days. We have reduced Him, as it were, to the position of a governor-general of Canada under the British North American Act. He is expected to preside formally, and attend the opening and closing of Parliament; but if He were to interfere practically in any of our attempts to save our souls by our own democratic methods we should be extremely peeved. (Applause)

And now, Mr. President, I come to the concluding point of the whole text and body and importance of my address. This, Mr. President, is why we are sorry for ourselves: Because we are not doing anything personally, individually, to better our own position and to better the world against which we level these accusations. (Applause)

A man who is doing something is a man who is guided by hope. It is impossible to do something without having and developing and strengthening hope in the breast of the doer. A man who is lying flat on his back, calling to the government to come to his rescue, has no hope, or at least if he starts out with having hope, by the time he has called on the government for five years he has lost hope. (Laughter)

The world is really not worse than it was—(hear, hear); or if it is, it is only because the individuals in it are worse, less confident, less energetic, less self-reliant, less disposed to perform their tasks as individuals in the world. Personally I believe the world just as good a place as it ever was, and that everything is in the way you look at it.

It is very important to adopt the proper manner of looking at things. I hear people discussing the question of prohibition. It is astonishing how easy it is to hear people discussing prohibition, and I find that everybody is grieved about it. People who approve of drinking are grieved about prohibition because they say it prevents men from drinking. People who approve of not drinking are grieved because it does not prevent men from drinking. (Laughter) Surely that is all a matter of looking at it. If my friends who are in favour of drinking would only realize the beauty of the fact that Prohibition, while it satisfies those who like a law against drinking, does not prevent men from drinking, then they would be perfectly satisfied, (laughter); and if only my friends who approve of laws to prevent people from drinking would concentrate their attention on the fact that they have a law to prevent people from drinking, they, too, would be satisfied. (Laughter) Direct your attention to the proper phase of the question—the phase that will give you something to be happy and cheerful about, instead of always looking at that aspect of it that is most painful and most unsatisfactory to you.

But that is a side issue, and perhaps not a fittingly serious reflection with which to close this very serious discussion. The point I want to leave with you is the point that if there is going to be any improvement in the world it is going to come from individuals working hopefully and energetically and strongly for their own conception of what the world ought to be, and not from constant appeals to governments to increase their interference with the communal life. There is too much accent upon the community, particularly upon the community in its organized capacity as a City, as a Province, as a State, and so on, and too little upon the individual man. That I believe to be the main reason why we are pessimistic as to the future. The means whereby we can change our pessimism for optimism is merely by going in for individual work. (Loud applause)

PRINCIPAL HUTTON expressed the thanks of the Club for the interesting address, remarking, amid laughter, that the speaker had obtained all his wit and wisdom from the study of Greek in the University of Toronto.

"CONFESSIONS OF A NEW CANADIAN"

AN ADDRESS BY REV. DR. J. R. P. SCLATER.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, January 31, 1924

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker.

Rev. Dr. Sclater was received with loud applause, and after expressing grateful thanks for his reception to Toronto and the invitation to address the Club, suggested a slight change in the title of his address as printed, so as to convey more clearly the proper idea as to the impacts upon his young and fresh and very innocent mind. (Laughter) The word "Impressions" would not do, as he suggested the mental habit of the gentlemen who goes to India, spends three weeks there, and then writes a book explaining all the problems of that wonderful country. (Laughter) Anything more abominable than that type of mind it would be difficult to conceive. The word "Confession" was perhaps the best, except for the fact that the speaker was a Scotchman, and no Scot ever had anything to confess. (Laughter) He would therefore, with the permission of his hearers, fall back on the word "Admissions," although, to be quite frank, he thought that was almost as difficult a word for a Scotchman to use as the one he had rejected—because a Scot very seldom admits anything; he leaves it to the other fellow to do that, or if he does admit anything it is with an

---

Rev. Dr. Sclater is a graduate of Cambridge University, England. While there he was president of the Students' Union. In Edinburgh he was pastor of the New North Presbyterian Church—one largely attended by the student body. For a time he supplied the place which Henry Drummond had held. He is a recognized Dante scholar and is the author of works on literary and religious subjects.

underlying feeling in his own mind that is expressed in the old familiar toast, bowdlerised slightly so as to be suitable to the times—"Here's to ourselves; wha's like us? gey few!" (Great laughter)

I am reminded of an incident told me by a Scottish friend of mine. One dark night he saw a kilted regiment on the Quay of Havre, swinging along up to Harfleur, and grabbing at the lapels of a very English staff officer standing next to him he shook him and said, "Man, if I wasna a Scotsman I would cut ma throat." (Laughter) "Aberdeen and twal mile round, and where are ye?" (Laughter) There is the Scottish attitude; we must admit it; and if any admission is to be made, let us start with that one. We are so made, apparently, that we look on life with eyes of that type. Therefore perhaps the word "Admission" is not just precisely perfect, but it is the best that I can get, and with your permission I would make a few admissions before you publicly.

In the first place let me make my admission of complaint—what is the good of being a Scotchman if he can't grumble? That, again, is supposed to be a faculty which we have raised to a considerable artistic level. (Laughter) What is the good of being a Scotchman, particularly a Scotch Presbyterian, if one cannot find some thing to grouse at? (Laughter)

There are just three matters of varying degrees of importance which I submit are matters of complaint. The first is, I can't stick Canadian stamps on Canadian envelopes. (Laughter) I don't know why it is; I could manage Old Country stamps all right. Whether there is a difference in the quality of gum, or whether there is something peculiar in the moisture that I apply to it—(great laughter)—but I cannot stick on Canadian stamps, and whenever I get hold of my son I give it to him to do. (Laughter)

The second thing—and I speak as a person who has no knowledge of the reason for it—is that I have to pay 10 cents duty on imported theological books. Now, that strikes me as hard, for books are abominably dear at any time, especially theological books —I suppose they have to make them dear because so few people buy thm—(laughter)—but to pay 10 cents more is hard lines. You can understand how that hits the nerve-centre of a Scotchman—(laughter)—so, it being assumed that all books that enter Canada are educational books, of the sort of that would harmonize with Dr. Whyte's favorite quotation: "I never read a book but to make myself a better man," is it not possible that if other goods are kept out of Canada for some good reason, ideas should come into Canada free? (Laughter)

And the third thing—in which I dare say a great many here would perhaps feel with me, for it is one of the "losses of the gains" of coming to this splendid country—is the lack of the hills. To see again something of the sunset falling upon those heather-covered hills of the West,—ah! just for a moment or two one would like to see that. But there is a credit side of the balance to set against that, and the question of hills we have to settle with the Almighty. I quite realize that if you go far enough you get hills enough and to spare, but it is an awfully long walk to the Rocky Mountains,—(laughter)—and my poor legs do not carry me sufficiently steadily to be there of an evening and back to preach in Parkdale on the Sunday.

Now, having got that off my chest and made a kind of a grumble, let me tell you something. My acquaintance with Canada as a body, a community, was not made here nor in Britain, but on the sand fields of Flanders. The first vision that I had of Canadians directly—not indeed with my own eyes, but through those to whom I was Chaplain before the war—was in that tragic moment, big with fate for the whole future of the things that we love, during that first gas attack that was made outside Ypres, when for a while the way lay open and undefended to the Channel Ports. You know well how at that time it was the Canadian troops that went up to fill that so dangerous gap. You remember how the native troops of the French Army, the Turcos, came rushing back, flinging their arms away, crying that all was lost; and up against that unknown danger men present here to-day, I dare say, or their brothers and sons, went and stood in defence of the things that we cared for most.

So you can imagine, gentlemen, that any admission one has to make concerning Canadians and the things of Canada is an admission of excellence. There is one story in connection with this gas attack which, I believe, is not generally known, but which I believe to be true. It was told me one night about one o'clock in the morning in a lovely German house as we sat, a group of us, looking over the stillness of the Folksgarten in Cologne. The officer who told me held high rank in the British Army, and during the attack was holding a position behind the lines where the break came. As the fighting went on, when the Canadians had gone up, gradually the wounded began to come back. The whole air was filled with foreboding and great anxiety. The men in charge did not know precisely what it was, that now they were faced with, and therefore naturally did not know how to cope with it. In the midst of the anxiety a dying Canadian Engineer Officer was brought in; he was still conscious, and just able to speak, though barely in a whisper; but in a whisper he repeated the same sentence over and over again—"Cut off my buttons!" Then, struggling with the final pangs which were to make the things of earth become dim to him forever he still said, "Cut off my buttons!" Fortunately sombody there was alert enough to understand what he meant. I do not know about these things, and possibly I am using the wrong words, but I understand that he meant that the gas oxidised on the metal buttons. At any rate, the man to whom he spoke understood what he was trying to get at; so the buttons were cut off and sent home to a famous chemist, Professor Haldane of Oxford, and the gas was analyzed and in an incredibly short time gas masks were sent to the front, and saved the situation. (Applause) If any man proved the spirit of patriotism, and the spirit which was concerned with one thing, it was that dying officer. You may possibly know him; he may have a relative here present; if so, you may be proud. For with his last dying breath he was using his knowledge in order to defend his native land. I say he did great honour to the name of Canada. (Applause)

Therefore, gentlemen, you can understand that any admission that one is inclined to make is an admission of excellence of Canadians, who proved themselves of the same breed with those amongst whom I had dwelt. We were proud in Scotland—and you will understand me when I emphasize it—we shall be proud of the sons of that land of heather who went out as soldiers and fought for Scotland and for the Empire. We do claim that whatever little foibles of unworthy conceit we may have, we are not unworthily proud of the lads of our own dear land who died for us. But with them we rank the sons of this great place. They, too, just like our own sons,—

Wore their wounds like roses
Who died before their prime.

They, too, are united in the same great enterprise and the same great cause, and no Scotsman who knew anything about the work that Canadian men in the war did can do anything but give reverence and acclaim to you and the land from which they sprang. (Applause)

Well, when I first came out here the first thing that struck me vividly was when I was taken up by my friend Dr. Duncan of Montreal for a drive towards the mountain—that wonderful mountain at Montreal which is a sort of a mountain, from the Scotch point of view. (Laughter) What struck me was that you have not got fences around your gardens. A number of you people know Edingurgh, and particularly our Edinburgh habits, and they will understand how amazing, how startling, how topsy-turvy a fact that was. We have arrangements there, not only whereby we have fences as often as we can get them, and good high walls around our gardens, but we have arrangements whereby we can lock the front garden gate from the inside of the house door—(Laughter)—and when the bell rings the housekeeper can slant the blind back a fraction of an inch and see who is standing at the gate about 30 yards away, and if she does not like the looks of him—or more probably her—well, then nothing happens. (Laughter) So, as you can understand, to discover a country not merely where that does not occur, but where there are no fences around the gardens, and where you have added to the beauty of the surroundings by showing them, was to discover something in Canadian life which was new to us, and almost entirely admirable.

And then one came from Montreal to Toronto, and in the leading of Providence became Minister in Parkdale, and in the further leading of Providence, found that there was an apartment to let in Tyndall Avenue. Now, anybody who takes a walk down Tyndall Avenue,—which costs nothing, so that a Scotchman need not be afraid to go—(laughter)—will find that spirit of community exhibited almost in its completeness—a broad avenue with hardly a fence from end to end, everybody sharing in the good of all; a wide street indicative of a wide life; all sorts and conditions of men tarrying together, and, as far as they can, throwing their common possessions into the creation of a common beauty which shall be possessed by all.

It is a fact, gentlemen, that the thing that strikes one first in coming to your land is that life is wider than it is at home, especially for the young; that it is possible for a young man here to experiment; to find out what his *metier* is to be, and that subsequently, when he has so experimented, he can change from one line of life to another; and particularly that all lines of life practically are open to him, with none of those absurd barriers and social distinctions which have so very effective and very living a power in the land from which I come.

It is something to have this suggestion of freedom, of the unfenced life, and of the life held in common, with the production of the good which is shared by all. It is something to have that suggested, and to be a fact in the lives of young men coming out; and certainly from my own point of view as a minister, with a family to whom I am quite reasonably attached, about whose future one has the usual parental anxiety, I would have no hesitation whatever in suggesting to every man in my position at home that for the sake of their choldren there is a great deal to be said for Canada, even in comparison with the rich and dear land in which we have lived.

Just think of it. At home a boy's future is very considerably settled the day he is born. It is certainly almost entirely settled the day that either he or his father chooses a business or profession. It is natural that he should succeed his father. The Levitical succession in medicine, in law, in business, and even in the Church is a very emphatic and ordinary mark of our Scottish life; and when one thinks how many men have made a professional or business decision, or it has been made for them in their late 'teens, and who afterwards would have given the wide, wide world to get out of it, one sees that you have here something that is indeed a great gain and a great good.

Then, besides, there is the absurd social distinction and social barrier which does not regard all work as service, but regards some of it as suitable service and some of it as unsuitable labour, so that men cannot move from one kind of activity to the other at all. Even those who think they are free from all snobbish attitudes, who believe that at bottom they do hold the Christian view of the Brotherhood of man could not, for their children's sake, take certain decisions in respect of work which are taken every day in this country. For instance, to those who do not know the pressure of the social atmosphere at home, and perhaps conspicuously in Edinburgh, it may sound like a very ridiculous thing, but it is a fact, that it would be almost impossible for a professional man to settle his son in retail business in the city in which he lived. I would never have dreamed of it for my own sons in Edinburgh. You can see at once how large a part of extremely useful service to God and the community is denied because of this absence of freedom of choice.

A clever friend of mine in this city who visited the Old Country this year told me that incidentally she paid a visit to Winchester, which is famous for one of the greatest of all Cathedrals, and conspicuously famous for one of the most distinguished of all schools—saving the presence of any possible Etonian or Harrovian present, I am sure that Winchester is not perhaps just the very best of British schools. She met the head master, and amongst other things asked him, "Do you teach agricultural subjects here?" (Great laughter) Well, if any gentleman present has been to Winchester, and knows the particular brand of man that becomes head master of a great public school at home, he will realize the kind of shock it gave that chap; and his answer, I believe, was this, "Agriculture! Why this is a school for gentlemen's sons." (Laughter) You see, there you are! (Laughter)

Well, now to get from that and come into a community where at any rate lip-service is paid to the idea that all honest work that helps the well-being of the community is to be regarded as honourable work, and that the man who does it is to be respected for his own qualities, is a really great gain; and I trust that that attitude will always be retained by Canadians. (Hear, hear and applause)

Not long ago I happened to be "listening-in." I have got a "listening-in" set. You don't know what a remarkable statement that is. Not a Scotch Presbyterian Minister possesses a "listening-in" set. (Laughter) Well, why are you surprised? There was not one minister in the City of Edinburgh that I knew of that possessed a motor car. Why, I have bought a Rolls-Royce since I came to Toronto. (Laughter) I must admit it was made by Mr. Henry Ford, of Detroit—(laughter)—but it takes me about like a Rolls-Royce, anyway. (Laughter) Well, as I say, I have got a "listening-in" set, and the other night I happened to hear a gentleman in the United States, somewhere near New York, addressing postal employees. We landed right into the middle of his speech, which was a very good one. He seemed to be expressing the grievances of postal employees. Judging by the applause with which he was greeted, the postal employees in the States have grievances the same as they have in Scotland and everywhere else.

Among other things he said, "Think of your work as service, and remember how romantic it is." Well, I rather stuck on that adjective. It never seemed to me a very romantic job to have a bag on your back and go up and down Tyndall Avenue and shove letters into the thing that holds letters, and then go on and do the same thing in the next place. It does not sound very romantic. But this speaker said, "Remember, you are the last link in the chain that holds together scattered friends." Upon my word, it is true. That very morning I got the home mail from some friends of mine who still remain as true and dear friends as a man can possess—none the less true and none the less dear because one has new friends now here. That very morning I got one, and it brought the remembrance and the intimate little news of those people from across the sea to my door, so that I was able almost to hear their voices again. Why?—just because the postman had carried it and put it into my box. Romantic? The binder of scattered hearts? Why, there is a service for you. Let no man ever again be anything but proud if he is a postman. (Applause)

I believe there used to be a habit in the Navy that after a fight was over, those who had taken the spectacular part of it gathered upon the deck and called up another section of the ship's company and cheered and cheered and cheered them; and they were given the place of honor by the fighting officers and by the fighting men. Who are these?—the grimy squad from the stoke-hole. (Applause) The Navy can teach men many things, gentlemen, but in that act, in giving honor to those who did nothing but that awful toil down in the depths of the ship, who had none of the chance of the high spectacular, obvious things that give men fame, but did the dirty, hard work—unseen—and if danger came were those who would receive the most of it, going down like rats in the sinking ship—in that act of giving rich honor to them when the victory was won, the Navy taught a lesson that all men should learn. (Hear, hear, and applause)

The second thing that hit me in this land particularly, if I may say so, was Yonge Street. (Laughter) I went out in my car with the two youngest children—I have three of them—and drove up Yonge Street. We said we would go and see Yonge Street. Well, we went on and on and on and on, and finally the twilight began to fall in, and knowing that we had a mother at home who might get anxious—she does not think much of her family's driving—(laughter)—we thought we had better turn home. We had gone 32 miles; we came back 32 miles, that is 64—you can calculate for yourselves what that cost in petrol—(laughter)—; and so far as we know, Yonge Street is still going in a dead straight line to the North pole. (Laughter)

Well, gentlemen, it seems to me that that is a most significant fact, and a fact that does great honor to this same land. It reminds one of the attitude of the Romans of old, whose similar streets one can see in the Old Country. It reminds one of the kind and quality of men that those same Romans must have been. In a war with the soil to bring it under civilized sway, they went straight over hill and dale, over moor and fen, dead straight to their objective. And the very fact of the straightness of Yonge Street and and many other streets like it, indicates that here too we have a community which is all the more to be honored because it suggests that it is not far from the point when men, with their lips shut and their wills firm, had to take Nature by the throat and conquor. And I do say, for those who came from the Old Country, and especially for those who come from a sea-gray city half as old as time, there is something very impressive in watching how men can take the earth and make it a place for homes, a place where the higher life of man can be lived and developed. I say that it is greatly to your honour.

But, gentlemen, that suggests my last word, and that is, that now it seems to me that Canada is beginning to have its great opportunity; that the super-structure is just beginning to be added to the magnificent foundation which your power and the energy and the backbone of your ancestors has laid; that now the things have to be done which will make Canada not only respected through all the earth because of what it has done in pioneer days, but will make it give its peculiar contribution in the various regions of the activities of the mind.

The superstructure is now beginning to be added. One of the things that struck me especially a year ago, when I happened to be out on a visit, was that for a few hours I was taken up to the University presided over by its distinguished Principal, Sir Robert Falconer—(applause)—and I remember then the surprise with which one saw those splendid buildings; the perfect amazement—I have not got over it yet—which flooded one's spirit when I first saw Hart House, and the still further surprise when one found that Toronto University was the biggest English-speaking University in the whole Empire. (Applause)

The super-structure has began to be built, and begun to be built very nobly. Mr. Lloyd George, when on his visit here not very long ago, remarked that in the war Canada had gained for itself the title of Nationhood, and was now itself a Nation—not indeed, that that separates it in the very least from its unity in the Empire—(hear, hear and applause); anybody who thinks that national consciousness brings any fissure into empire loyalty has forgotten Scotland. (Hear, hear and applause) If ever there was a people that was instinct with Nationhood, that was passionate for its own land, it is that little bit of Great Britain; and yet it is incorporate as I suppose nothing else is, first with the British Islands, and then with the Empire as a whole. So when we hear of Canada being nationally self-conscious we simply mean nothing but good for the vitality of the free nations to which we are so proud to belong, and which make up the Empire as a whole. (Hear, hear and applause)

Yes, but Sir, Canada is a young nation; and that is all to the good, too, and even to the better. I do not suppose there has ever been such an anxious time as the times of to-day. If ever people could apply the word "climacteric" to a period of the World's history you can apply it to this period. Wherefore, we can use it in respect of Canada as a nation the words so often quoted from Wordsworth. After the French Revolution, there came the hope to him, you remember, that he was about to see the dawning of universal peace, and in the exultation of it he said:—

Bliss was it in that day to be alive
But to be young was very heaven.

As a National unit Canada to-day might say that. Bliss is it for all people who desire great opportunities of service; bliss is it in these desperately anxious days to be alive; but to be young is very heaven.

There are regions in which it seems to me Canada has a particular contribution to give. To the problem of Government. It only needs a glance at the map to see that here, as the population develops, it is inevitable that in the councils of the Empire Canada must play a more and more important part. The thing cannot be helped. In the experiments of government here there are unique opportunities for inventiveness. But specially, it seems to me, in the region of the things of the mind there is about to be a demand upon great people for help and leadership. In one particular, I think that you are singularly favored, especially in this part of Canada, that is in regard to climatic conditions. Literature has been affected very considerably by climate, and the result has been that great national literatures have developed which have all had one particular characteristic.

We have, for instance, the literature of the Icelandic Sagas, the related literatures of the Norsemen; we have their descendants to-day in their sombre worship. We have the peculiar poignant and very wonderful literature of Russia; each of these having its particular characteristic because of the situation, the natural situation in which its creators live. Think, for instance, of the Norsemen looking out across their stern fields, and hearing the dreary, weird sounds of the wind beating across their seas and ice-floes. There is no wonder that they spoke sternly and thought sternly of destiny and of life. And thus, too, arises the sadder note, that still more passionate note that we recognize almost uniformly in the great Russian utterances. Then down in the South you have a completely different type produced—more gay, in its severity much more—shall we say——colorful in its register. Italy, like Russia, responds to its land.

Now, here in Canada you have the north and you have the south together. Your people are brought up under the influence of those natural surroundings which are never to be escaped so long as there is a touch of the Canadian Winter. But then you have your Spring, you have your Summer, and it seems inevitable that if opportunity is given to the young Canadian mind to seek its own natural development, a literature purely Canadian, purely distinctive, is bound to be the result. We look forward to that time. It may not be in our day when it will come to its fullness, although already there are so many signs of it. There will come a day when there will be great Canadian names that will be as famous in the literature of the world as any names which hitherto have adorned it. Meantime give a chance, every chance, to those who may hereafter bring such a contribution to the world.

In the old days in my country it was Kings that made Universities; it was Kings that built colleges and built schools. Kings cannot do it nowadays, poor chaps (laughter) ; but there are other good people who can. There are Toronto millionaires represented here—(laughter)—I take it that everybody here present is a millionaire or about to be one (laughter); and here, indeed, is the thing that can be done—to give a chance to the lad who is a dreamer, who is not much engrossed, perhaps in practical things, but who may some day possibly wake up and give voice to things that are in his soul. I think, if I may be free to say so, that one of the things that has done great honour to this city is that Dr. Banting has been set free from all ordinary sublunary anxieties to dedicate his conspicuous gifts to the service of mankind in research. (Hear, hear and loud applause) Gentlemen, if it be that someone arises—as he is bound to arise—who can do the same kind of service in the things of abstract thought or in the things of beauty, let it be he that he will have his free chance, too.

There was one thing, gentlemen, that I learned long ago about Canada; one other little happening that has always stuck very vividly in my mind. I was born on the 9th of April—not the first, but the ninth—(laughter); that was the day that the Canadians went over the top of Vimy, and I am very glad that my natal day is coupled with so great a happening in the history of warefare. For a couple of days afterwards I happened to be wandering about a nice quiet lane—I had one of the very "cushy" jobs in the war a long way back—and in the course of that I happened to meet a very intimate friend and colleague of the commander-in-chief—Lord Hague—who happened also to be a friend of mine—and I said, "Hello, how are the Canadians getting on?" He said, "Oh, top-hole, they are doing splendidly; why, this morning the Chief"—that is Lord Hague—"the Chief was whistling Psalm tunes in in his bath." (Great laughter)

Well, Mr. President and gentlemen, may you and I who are workers together in this great country now, so bear ourselves that all who care for good things throughout the world will be able to say of us, when they think of Canada, "They whistle Psalm tunes in their bath." (Laughter and applause)

You have a great Canadian National Hymn, set to a very noble music, and I take it that it is the intent and purpose of all men—business men who are employed, and men who do employ, men of the professions, men wherever they may be, that the word contained in it shall be made true, and the prayer in it shall be their prayer:—"Lord of all lands, make Canada thine own." (Loud and continued applause)

SIR ROBERT FALCONER: As a Canadian whose ancestors came to this country 150 years ago, I have the privilege of thanking one of our newest fellow-Canadians; and it will give me a very great deal of pleasure if you will allow me on your behalf to express our gratitude to Dr. Sclater for the words he has spoken. I have rarely listened, as I am sure you also have rarely listened, to an address so courteous in its expression, so subtle in its apercu of our Canadian life, so rich in humour, and expressed with a delicacy that is almost poetry throughout, from beginning to end. (Hear, hear and applause) Many years ago, when I was a student in Edinboro, the man who rivited the attention of the students was Henry Drummond, and for six winters I used to go in the evenings to hear Henry Drummond, long after I knew what he was going to say, because he had repeated himself again and again, but there was a charm, and there was a gathering of men. Many years after I left, the successor of Henry Drummond was the gentleman who has just addressed you, Dr. Sclater; I do not mean in the Church, because Henry Drummond never had a church; he was not ordained. But the successor of men in the affairs of the students of that great university—a university whose students are not only men of unusual ability but of very great critical faculty, as you would well know if you dropped into some class; if they do not like a professor they very soon let him know (laughter) Dr. Sclater entered into that inheritance, and possibly we in Toronto are hardly yet aware of the great gift that Scotland has again made to us in sending us the gentleman who has just addressed us. I hope that we shall treat him worthily, because he deserves the very best treatment we can give him. (Hear, hear) I thank you, sir, for allowing me to express the vote of thanks, if I may do so on your behalf, to Dr. Sclater for this address. (Loud applause)

AUSTRALIAN PROBLEMS

AN ADDRESS BY SENATOR THE HON. R. V. WILSON, OF AUSTRALIA.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, February 14th, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause.

SENATOR, THE HON. R. V. WILSON

I should like to ask you, as a Club, under no circumstances whatever to belittle the Imperial or Economic Conferences that are called from time to time in Great Britain. Canada was very ably represented by your Prime Minister, Mr. MacKenzie King, and that other dear fellow—I think you call him "Uncle George"—Mr. Graham. (Applause) I took a fancy to him; I think he kept me on the narrow path in the Committee of the Economic Conference. He is a man with a great deal of thought, a wonderful amount of experience, and he never speaks out of his turn, though we younger men are prepared to take greater risks. To me, as an Austratlian, it was an education to be brought into contact with other Empire representatives in London; to state our troubles and difficulties around the table, to see if we could not find some means of solving them. We did not go over there expecting to agree on all points; we went to see if we could not come to some arrangement on various questions, but there was no ill-feeling, and the Conference broke up with the knowledge that we had at least built a stronger link

---

Hon. Mr. R. V. Wilson was a senator when he visited Canada to act for the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Bruce. He is now a member of the Australian Cabinet.

in the chain of sentiment throughout the British Empire. (Applause)

I am sure that organizations such as yours play a very important part in the building of the Empire. I would urge on your members to take an interest at all times in the affairs that count within your own country. (Hear, hear) An organization such as this gives you an opportunity of meeting visitors from time to time, and brings you personally into contact with one another, and this should be of advantage to the Empire, to which we have the honour to belong. (Hear, hear)

The world well knows what Canada did for the Empire during the war. Although Australia has only 5,500,000 people, and we have only started to tickle the productive values of that great Commonwealth, we put up 350,000 men when the Empire called. (Loud applause) They travelled 12,000 miles to defend those privileges of which you and I are so proud, under the flag under which we live. (Applause) Unfortunately 60,000 will never return. That was indeed a great sacrifice for a young country and a small people. On top of that, the war debt which the taxpayers of the Commonwealth of Australia are carrying is in the vicinity of 480 millions of money; and that works out in your money to something like $2,125 thousands. (Voices—"Millions.") Oh, really, your figures get too big for me! (Laughter) This reminds me of a remark made by a gentleman who went from this side of the world to Australia some years ago, and took a very active interest in affairs there and became a prominent public man,—King O'Malley. He used to say, "Byes, Byes, you will talk in thousands some day as easily as to-day you talk in hundreds." (Laughter)

Well, unfortunately Australia has been compelled to assume that great debt on account of the war, but we are carrying the burden and standing up to our liabilities and responsibilities—I am not going to say without squirming a bit, for that is human nature—but we will honour our obligations. (Hear, hear, and applause) We feel that the sacrifice was worth while in the defence of the Empire which your men and ours, as well as those of South Africa and Great Britain, went to defend.

Now, if it was good for us to unite in the time of fighting and of war, I put it to you whether it is not right that we should unite in the time of peace. (Hear, hear, and applause)—so that we may build against war. (Hear, hear) As organized peoples, happy peoples, let us make opportunities for our own flesh and blood. Dispersed properly throughout the world, they will defend the world and secure to the world that peace we so much desire. (Hear, hear)

In Australia we have great difficulties. We have faced them as you have faced yours, for largely our difficulties are yours. We have had prominently brought under our notice in the last three months the fact that in that dear Old Country there are 2,000,000 of people unemployed, living considerably below our standard of living,—almost in degradation to-day; and I say that if we are going to grow in strength as the British Empire it is for the public men of this country and of our country, where we have large land areas and plenty of space, to cooperate with the Old Country. It is for Great Britain to see, on their part, that everything possible may be done to assist in this development, so that the surplus people of the Old Land may be wisely and well employed.

To-day in London the dole system is costing many millions of pounds a year, but anyone with a reasonable knowledge of men must know that to feed people without work under circumstances that practically insist on their receiving charity, is degrading to both men and women. (Hear, hear) Instead of so much of that dole system in the Old Country I would say—as was said to the last Government in

Great Britain—and I believe the new Government will do it—"Find the capital for the development in the newer countries; make the terms easy; make the opportunities attractive; and so rid yourselves of that surplus population, that can be wisely and well employed in young countries." (Hear, hear)

As the Minister charged with the responsibility for Immigration in the Commonwealth of Australia, I may say that we are doing everything on these lines that you are doing. We want people out in Australia, for we realize that the peopling of our country is the defence of our country; but we are not going to people our country at the expense of a lower standard of living within our country simply to relieve some other country of a difficulty that we ourselves are not prepared to accept. (Hear, hear) We are very careful in scrutinizing those who get through on those lines. As most of you know, Australia is a tremendous country, like your own. From the middle of Australia right north we have the great northern territory which some people say is no good. Twenty years ago we had what was known as the "90-mile desert" between Melbourne and Adelaide. You could have bought it for a few shillings an acre, and I honestly believe that some owners would have given you a pound of tea to take it off their hands. (Laughter) But to-day we have several fine and most progressivev towns there, made up of younger people with great energy, and they are getting rich rewards for their labour. Even your own town here played a very active part in reclaiming that country and making it as valuable as it is to-day, because if you had gone there as I did 15 or 18 years ago you would have seen "Toronto" riding all around the fields. (Laughter) But to-day we are manufacturing a lot of our own machinery. (Laughter) By the use of the highest methods for scientific improvement, with super-phosphates and machinery, that country that was considered by some people as useless has turned out to be very profitable indeed. That is practical experience, Gentlemen, and not hot air. (Hear, hear)

We have that Northern territory, and I say advisedly, after a great deal of knowledge of that territory, that God never intended any people to retain such a vast area without using it. (Hear, hear) But on the other side of the water you have people starving and craving for elbow-room, and it is for us to develop the Dominions and use them so that they may become and continue to be of great value to the British Empire. (Applause)

Now, of course we look to the Old Country for our men, and we have a right to look there for our money, as we pay for it, and it is an investment for them. We relieve them of their burdens, and I can assure you there is no better investment to-day for British capital than the development of their own Dominions within the Empire, be it in Canada or Australia or anywhere else. (Applause) We must learn the lesson that we cannot afford to feed those who are not our friends, because as a people we are all too prone to forget the things of yesterday, and want to start off giving those opportunities again.

Some three or four weeks ago I was at Sheffield, and Sir James Conley showed me a pocket knife, and I asked him where he got it. He said, "Well, old chap, I brought that along to show you; that is what Germany is doing; they are six shillings and sixpence a dozen, and yet the country that lets them all in has got all these unemployed, and is still going to get the unemployed."

Just to enlarge on my idea, you walk into a restaurant in the Old Country to-day, and it is almost impossible to be served by somebody who can speak your own lingo decently. When you ask why this is so, you find that in the Old Country they have no organization worth talking about for the folks that have to do this class of work, but they get an outsider, who is prepared to hate everybody, who holds both hands out for a tip and says, "I get no salary, sir; what about a tip?" Well, I saw a chap at one of those places there they were hitting us to leg a bit—(laughter)—and this great big able-bodied chap, who ought to be able to put the gloves on with me, waltzed up and said, "We get no pay, sir,"—insinuating a tip. I said, "Look here, my friend, you are lucky to be here at all! (Great laughter) If you were in Australia you would have been knocked in the head before you were nine days old." (Laughter)

Mr. President, what the world wants to-day is the doers, men who are out to accomplish something—(hear, hear)—men who are out with some ambition for service, instead of these chaps that just want to wander through on the fringe of things, to accept no personal responsibility, and have no regard for the future or the past. We want the right class of men in Australia, and we are going to get them. We are getting them, and you are getting your share—and a little bit more, I think,—(laughter)—but I am after you. (Laughter) We want these people in Australia, and we can offer them opportunities; so can you. I am not here to express an opinion of your country; I don't know anything about it; this is the first time I have ever seen snow decently—(laughter)—one of the luxuries that we don't enjoy in Australia—but I will say that the direct policy of the Commonwealth of Australia, of its Government and of its people, is a white Australia. (Hear, hear, and applause) Every now and again you hear some gentleman who is touring the world, who blows in there and blows out and can tell the Nation what is best for it—(laughter); but I am not going to attempt that in Canada. I read recently in your Press about a gentleman, who likens the question of a white Australia to the blood-horses running in the carts in Adelaide. Well, he may know something about soap—(laughter)—but when he disparages blood in a horse or in any part of animal life or in any work in connection with Australia he does not know anything about it (laughter); and as the blood-horse is the best for work, so the white man is the best for Australia. (Hear, hear, and applause)

You buy our wool, and I am glad to see that at the moment you are not getting it too cheaply—(laughter); and I will go as far as to say that you are only getting it as cheap as you are getting it because we cannot get any more for it. (Laughter) Meat is another big product of Australia, in which we have, as it were, "hit the fence," for to-day the cattle industry is nearly off the map, and it is very difficult to see how it is going to exist in that great Commonwealth. Men who were making a tremendous amount of money, in the cattle industry and were very well-to-do are to-day almost in the breadline on account of the price of meat. This is understood when you realize that meat takes three years in growing it, and it is taken thousands of miles, perhaps, to the port where it is killed, then it is frozen and taken 12,000 miles and landed on the wharves in Great Britain at three-pence farthing a pound; yet the man who eats it has to pay in the vicinity of nine pence or a shilling, even up to a shilling and three-pence a pound. Well, there is "something wrong in the State of Denmark."

Gentlemen, that is one of our great difficulties; we are that long, long way; we are 12,000 miles away, while you are only a suburb of Great Britain. (Laughter). May I tell a story that was told by Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes, to show that many people do not realize these great difficulties. An Englishman in Ireland saw Pat taking a mare to the fair, and asked, "Well, Pat, what do you expect to get for her? Pat replied, "Seven Pounds." The Englishman replied, "Why, if you took that mare over to England you would get thirty-five pounds for her." Pat stepped back, looked him up and down, and asked, "Well, Mister, tell me what would I get for the Lakes of Killarney if I took them to Hell?" (Great laughter) Pat realized the marketing conditions and difficulties (laughter), and we have got to do so, and to find a way out. When I come into this great country of yours and find men belonging to the same Empire, with the same ideals of developing the Empire, using in your daily food items that can be bought from the men who are producing it within the Empire, who made that great sacrifice at the time of war, I wonder what was the result of it.

I am not blaming Canada, not a bit, but I think that marketing in Australia needs a bomb. We never should have let the market drift from this great country. We are producing in Australia from 35,000 to 40,000 tons of dried fruit each year; yet when I walked down your street—and I hope there are no retail grocers here, for they might want to apply a boot to me, I had 25 years at it, so I know the sins—(laughter)—I purchased Sultanas, currants and raisins, and I make bold to say that we will give you a better sample, better quality and better flavour at a jolly sight less money. (Applause, and a voice:—"Good!") All those Australian fruits are grown by men who were prepared to make the sacrifice to defend this country and to defend our country. Surely it is a question of tariff. On this subject I am not allowed to say much to-day, and if any gentleman came here thinking that I would discuss the question of the mission that brought us to Canada I would say that that cannot be done. (Laughter) We are in the midst of our enquiries, which we will resume next week, and I can say that whether an agreement be reached, or not, the visit will not be fruitless, because I am certain it will bring Australia and its Cabinet more closely into touch with your affairs here. (Applause)

We have, for a young country, been spending an immense amount of money; it seems that the war had that tendency—my friend to my right (Sir Edmund Walker) is having a little laugh of his own, and I think he is quite right—the war had a tendency to disregard capital expenditure. But the Government of which I have the honour to be a member is taking hold of this matter with both hands, and we are going to try and confine ourselves to expenditure which will produce interest, and will use as much money as we can get to develop the Commonwealth of Australia on legitimate commercial lines, and on no other. (Hear, hear, and applause).

I don't suppose for a moment that it has ever occurred in Canada, though I heard something about a political railway line. (Laughter) I have seen them, they don't pay cents in; they pay cents out, and as far as the Commonwealth Government is concerned we are looking to put that sort of thing on a proper and legitimate business basis. But the one thing Australia does want is to impress the point that if we do the producing, then we look to the other side of the world for our markets—among those people who are, may I say? flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. Our people have travelled 12,000 miles in defence of the Empire; and am I looking for too much when I say—"Here, it is up to you people to do your part; consume what we produce?" (Hear, hear, and applause) That, Gentlemen, is defence.

Our Prime Minister, Mr. Bruce, created a magnificent atmosphere in Great Britain on behalf of Australia. He travelled throughout that country and worked morning, noon and night, and built up an atmosphere in favour of development within the Empire very fully wherever he went. He told them what we can do and what we are going to do. At the British Empire Exhibition Australia will show what the Commonwealth is doing. As Chairman of the Australian section of the Exhibition I have the further responsibility of looking after our Exhibit, and at the moment I am very deeply engaged in a fair "dinkum-go" with Canada. Soon after I arrived in London my people wrote me that Canada was a month ahead of Australia, and they were terribly alarmed Australia would not be ready. I replied that whenever Australia finished there would be more behind than in front—(laughter)—and you may rest assured that on the 24th or 26th of April Australia will be there—(Hear, hear, and applause), and we hope to vie with you in exhibiting to the world and to those old countries what we can do as an Empire, and to show that every possible thing can be produced within the Empire.

I want to say a word to you with regard to the possibilities of cotton. I have spoken about our wheat, which is in competition with yours, we can grow the best, but I think you can grow the most. (Laughter) Before I became a Minister of the Crown I spent three months last year in Queensland, and travelled in all sorts of districts and to all the cotton patches that I could see. I think I visited nearly 70, and the cotton growth was beautiful, in many places, nearly all, five-finger bolls; and I say unhesitatingly that within five years Australia will be a very active competitor with regard to the cotton required within the Empire. (Hear, hear, and applause)

Now, some of you may put up your hands in horror and ask, "What are you going to do for labour?" That is the first question I meet everywhere. Well, we are going to make labour work for itself; there is no other way to do in growing cotton. In Sydney and in Brisbane they are considering the formation of big companies to grow cotton. To my way of thinking, gentlemen, that is doomed to failure. What we have to do is to cut up the land into areas that will allow a man to keep a pig or two, a cow and fowls, and to grow his 25 or 30 acres of cotton, and have his wife and his family or his pals assist pick and cultivate it. But if you are going to enter into Australia to-day in the present state of Unionism and attempt to pick cotton under Union conditions, I tell you you are looking for trouble. (Hear, hear) I give it to you in a nutshell. On my estate we have enough labour to pick the grape currants. There was a storm and a disagreement about working overtime, and we had some difficulty, and you know the currant grape has to be put into distil within three days or it is useless, and at the end of three days it would be an economic waste, never to be recovered. With my son and the little girls and their friends we made up a scratch team and went to work at 6 o'clock in the morning and worked till 8 o'clock, and at the end my team had picked as many buckets per hour per man or woman as did men to whom I was paying at fourteen and six-pence a day. That is our difficulty. Over the road there is a man with 15 acres who has an industrious wife and one or two in the family. When the storm came he simply hopped in and had his stuff in, and he used to come over and have a smoke and chat with me at night. That is just what we have got to do in Australia in the cotton industry—make labour work for itself, every man his own master. In that way you will have a better community and build up stronger manhood, and everything else should be to the advancement of the Commonwealth. (Hear, hear, and applause) So I say to you, don't be discouraged in regard to the cotton industry within the Empire. Australia intends to delve right into this, and inside of the next five years we will become a very big factor in it; and I think, indeed, we will give our wool a very close call within the next few years.

I am delighted with the opportunity of being here. I stated I would not talk at any public gathering, and when the Prime Minister asked me to take this trip I said, "Cut out all the speeches; I am getting too old for that." He replied, "All right, old chap, we will do the best we can for you," and he left with a smile. But I am very grateful to you for the opportunity of meeting you. I think that this personal contact plays a very active part in building up a better and nobler spirit within this great Empire of ours; and I would say to you, sir, and to your members—Hold fast to that which is good—the British Empire. (Hear, hear, and loud applause)

HON. N. W. ROWELL voiced the thanks of the Club to the speaker for his interesting and inspiring address.

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION

AN ADDRESS BY MR. CHARLES A. MARSHALL.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, February 14th, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause.

MR. CHARLES A. MARSHALL

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is relatively simple to describe a trip into Russia, and the impressions you get here and there on your trip, and it is also entirely misleading. You can get such a description much better done in the magazines and the newspapers than I can do it, and it will only reflect the conditions where the people go. In that respect it is entirely misleading, because conditions in the various parts of Russia, so far as I have had opportunity to see them, vary as pole to pole. For instance, if I had gone to Petrograd and only had business there I would have come back and condemned the Soviet Regime for the destruction of a beautiful city.

Or if I had gone only into Moscow I would have told you that the Communist Government was the best Government in the world; that there was a

---

Mr. Marshall is a member of the firm of Rearick, Dorr, Travis and Marshall, Attorneys, New York City. When he addressed the Empire Club, he had but recently returned from a trip to Russia to obtain original documents and other evidences of title to certain funds in New Banks which had been sent there for safe-keeping by Russian corporations before or during the Revolution. His mission brought him into close contact with bankers and business men in Moscow and afforded him an insight into actual business conditions in Russia.

city that ordinarily held 2,250,000 people, with 3,500,000 people crowded into it, with streets full of light, Opera, Ballet and night life in the cafes, with more traffic policemen to handle the dense traffic on the Avenues, almost, than we have in New York; with great stores, both wholesale and retail—some of the best and most beautiful stores I ever saw. It is very hard to buy anything there, because you have to change your money three times in three different ways before you can get goods, unless you happen to have the exact change.

I would have given you a false impression both ways. In the first place I would not have told you that Petrograd had no business existing economically or commercially, except as the Capital of Russia, and that while it was the Capital, at least four-fifths of its population were solely engaged in the business either of attending to the affairs of the Government or were people tributary to those who did so, and that when the Capital was moved from Petrograd to Moscow Petrograd died, and it is absolutely dead at the present time. I do not think you can entirely blame the Communist Government for that; and it is equally unfair to say that the prosperity of Moscow is to-day due to Communism, because most of it is due to the concentration of Government activities in Moscow. So it is very difficult to get an accurate picture of Russia from a superficial view of a few localities.

Our party was quite a large one. We had a lawyer from the United States War Department, which was interested in the case, and a man from one of the large New York banks which was also interested in it, and a special commissioner to authenticate documents so that they would be evidence in the United States, whom I had to take with me because we have no consuls in Russia, my wife and myself. There are no hotels there; you are assigned rooms in a guesthouse, the theory of the Government being that you are the paying guests of the Government. Actually they want to know what you are doing, and the guest-house has, in addition to its hotel staff, a complete equipment of agents of the secret service of the Russian Government, and they know everybody who comes in and goes out, and everybody you telephone to.

We sat there. We were in an anticipatory mood. We were not apprehensive. The first thing that happened to us was a visit from a very polite gentleman who came up to us and said, "I want, with the compliments of the Commissaire of Education, to present you a season ticket for the Opera and Ballet, for a box, while you are here." I protested that I was not on a political mission, and there was no reason for the great compliment from the Commissaire, but I was very glad to accept it. He said, "There is no political significance to this; we are extremely grateful to the whole North American Continent for having saved our country from disintegration and famine, and we are willing and anxious to do anything, even in such a small way as this to show our appreciation." Well, that was very nice. While all that was going on, another member of the party had been telephoning the Swedish Mission to get in touch with some friends of his who happened to be there; and as soon as he put down the telephone another polite gentleman came up and said, "Would you mind telling me the name of the gentleman who telephoned to the Swedish Mission?" We told him the name, and the man put it down in his book. Whenever we telephoned after that we would say, "There's a poor fellow listening in on this line downstairs" (laughter) and we would hear Ivan snort at the switchboard. That suspicion of everything that is going on is rather typical of Russian trade. They are suspicious of themselves and of everybody else, and they carry it to a childish degree that is sometimes very amusing.

There was a poor fellow there, an Englishman who, while not actually in jail, was heavily chaperoned by the cheka—the Secret Service. His idea was that it would be profitable to raise Airedale dogs and sell them, and he was much embarrassed to find that they did not have any Airedale dogs in Russia, so he wrote to an English kennel to send him a pair, and to telegraph him so that he could meet them at Riga. The telegram came saying, "The Prince and Countess left yesterday," and on that wire he was put in jail. (Laughter) His explanations were unavailing except that they released him from jail but watched him. The Prince and Countess arrived, and the police saw that they were dogs instead of counter-revolutionary dignitaries, so they made him change their names, and then let them in. Then there was another Englishman, and he had a very lucrative contracting company going on there, and he helped build the Moscow fair grounds last year. He is also a racing enthusiast, and he had many bets up on the races preceding the English Derby, and he sent a message asking his firm in London to telegraph him the names of the first three horses in each race. The names came, with the result of the races, by telegraph, but he did not receive his wire. Being of a curious disposition he inquired and discovered that this telegram had gone to the cipher department of the cheka. They had no idea of what the horses' names meant, as the race horse names are quite foreign to them, but they had actually worked out a key to these names and got a cipher message out of it. (Laughter) Those are little incidents of Russian life that make it rather fascinating. (Laughter)

I think, in fairness to the Communistic Government, you have to give them credit for a good many things. They put their finger first on the most important defect of Russian life, that is the fact that certainly 85 per cent. of the population are completely and entirely uneducated and out of touch with each other and with conditions in their own country and in the world. Within the limits of their possibilities, which are not very large because of the lack of trained material, they have established compulsory schools everywhere. They cannot teach all the grown-up population, but they have gotten nearly 100 per cent. of the children in the schools, where they teach them fundamental education, and also teach the principles of Communism, and also, I am sorry to say, teach them the fact that there is no religion. Thereby hangs a tale. About six or eight months ago, after the Communistic Government had become thoroughly established, it made a drive at religion because it was afraid of the Church, which was strongly organized in Russia and had a great hold on the people, and in their minds was probably a breeding ground for counter-revolutionary activities. It is the only institution they knew of that could organize the peasants. But they immediately stubbed their toe. They created a terrific disturbance, and they dropped it like hot cakes. Characteristically they went to work and started on the children, leaving the old ones alone. What the effect of their teaching is going to be as against the home influence on those children I do not know.

Then in their army they draft a great many peasants and give them some army training, and teach them reading and writing, and also the Communistic doctrines. They teach them a great deal of practical farming, which the European Russian knows very little about in many sections. They are doing pretty good work along that line. They have kept up the standard of their opera and of their ballets. It is just as good now as it ever was, and in Moscow you can go to an opera that we could not put on in New York because we have not got the talent; but they have the old casts, the old principals, they subsidize them heavily and give them preference in housing accommodations, which are so limited that all of them are commandeered in Moscow, and people are confined to so many cubic feet space, while the artistic people get the preference.

Business is an extraordinary thing. I don't remember suffering more in my life than I did in doing business. I was greatly handicapped all the time by the fact that I had a month or six weeks to do about two week's business, and that is a very difficult assignment in Russia. Their besetting sin is conversation. A letter I would give to my secretary and say, "Write a letter to so-and-so"—without dictating it—would be analysed, examined, commas changed, and the whole thing psychologically dissected and discussed for days before it goes out; and in every detail business is thoroughly discussed and theorized over before the Russian is satisfied. He is through then; the fact that the business then has to be done does not interest him; he has settled the theory, and the actual doing of it does not mean anything in the world to him.

I had a young lawyer assigned to me, and they told me the reason he was assigned to me was that his nickname was Quicksilver, and that he was very fast. I worked him five hours a day and did not let him talk and he nearly broke down; so I had to get five or six, and let them work two hours a day and talk the rest of the time; in which way I got finally what I wanted to get through, but it was a very, very difficult situation.

Business in Russia to-day is going on in a very extraordinary way. You have communistic government with the distinctive principle that there is no such thing as private enterprise, and you have business going on practically illegally, and almost entirely along the lines that it went on before. That is the extraordinary thing. But Russia is as it is to-day, and it is not what you or I might want it to be, and according to most observers who have been there it is not going to change by force from without, because the characteristic of the Russian people that impresses itself more thoroughly than any other on a visitor is their intense nationalism and intense patriotism. No matter how they disagree among themselves—and they disagree fundamentally and bitterly at times—they would be entirely united to the extent of repelling any outside force that would seek to change their Government. But a change is coming, and undoubtedly has come already to some extent through the pressure of internal circumstances and the pressure of economic facts against theories, and modification of laws that has resulted from it.

Russia is an interesting country to us for two or three reasons. In the first place, it can produce more farming products at less cost potentially than any other nation in the world. While I was there the Russian-British Grain Syndicate was formed to finance the export of the surplus of the Russian wheat crop, which was very large this year, and it moved out at a cost to the Board in Russia that is ridiculous compared with our standards of production costs. A great deal was moved into Germany, and a great deal into England and Italy, and was still moving when I left.

In addition to that, as far as we are concerned, Russia needs everything that we can make, and everything that everybody else makes. There is nothing there; and to some extent there is a trade that can be developed between the two countries at present by way of bartering our finished products for their unfinished products or raw material that we want. That is being done to some extent by the United States, and to a very large extent by the British. The place is full of British people, and they are all busy; they are very welcome. They and the

Americans are practically the only really wealthy and unsuspected people in Russia to-day. The Russians are very glad to see them, very glad the Germans have gone out. It is an interesting fact that I did not see a German while I was there. (Applause) If I had been there a year before I would have seen a great many more Germans than any other nationality. The financial conditions of Germany were such that those people could no longer function, and they left. Whether they come back or not depends on the foothold other nations get in Russia. They will not come back certainly until Germany has some financial standing.

It is interesting to theorize about what is going to happen to Russia. To do that it is necessary to understand one fundamental thing—which nobody who had not been to Russia can understand—and that is, the importance of theory in the Russian mind. When the Russian gets a theory and has worked it out satisfactorily to himself, that theory is dominant. If the facts don't fit it, the facts are wrong, and the facts have to be legislated, even as human nature incidentally has to be legislated to become right. I don't know whether that is Asiatic, or what it, is but it is Russian, and when you get there you find the reason for much of the present confusion is that theory governs every one of their actions.

The Communists came into power in 1917 after everybody was out and gone who had been conducting business internally and externally. Their diplomatic contacts had been through people who were out of the country. The people who had been running their factories and doing their internal business had gone; and the Communists were faced with a situation that required them to re-establish theories that they had previously denied. They had not had much practical experience with finance, or the principles of it, nor with trade on a large scale, nor with diplomacy. What has been in Russia in the last three or four years has been the tremendous clash between the strongly held—fanactically and sincerely held—theories of Communistic rule, as against the hard facts of economics. The greatest distress of mind, disappointment and anger, has been caused by the fact that they could not change human nature and basic economic laws by legislation. It is the most ridiculous thing to-day to see Communistic legislation on the books, and to see the business being conducted on capitalistic principles. That is exactly what is happening. They do not pay very much attention to their laws, as you will see. I was interested in some of their old laws, historically, for my own case, and I went to get some of the decrees of 1920 and 1921, but at the Government printing office they said, "Why, we haven't anything of that sort; you will have to go to the museum to find those." (Laughter) In principle those decrees would be in force and effect, but there you can only find them in the museum; yet business goes on just the same. Russia has fed and clothed itself for four years, pretty nearly unaided, and that is a pretty big economic business—to feed and clothe 50,000,000 people.

Now, what is going to happen? Three years ago the Communists, in the face of a perfectly complete break-down, in the face of a famine, said in effect to Russia, when they adopted the so-called new economic policy—"You Russians, the rank and file, are not educated up to the beauties of Communism. We will give you a new economic policy. We will carry on, and you can do your business as you have been accustomed to do it until we succeed in educating you to a point where you can abandon it." That is what happened then. Their new economic policy went into effect, and now I think they are very near the parting of the ways; they have come to a crisis in their principles, in any event, through the recognition by England and other States.

I will take a moment to explain why. In 1913, according to publications, the volume of Russian exports and imports amounted to 3,000,000,000 gold roubles—the rouble being worth about 50 cents. According to the statements of the Russian Government published last year the volume of imports and exports in 1923 was 336,000,000 gold roubles—something like 12 per cent. of what had gone on in 1913. Their railroads in 1923, on the ton-mile basis, carried something like 29 per cent. of the traffic that was carried in 1913. Their factories were gone to the extent of 40 per cent., and their machinery was broken down; there were only 333,000 workers in the textile industry in Russia—something under 40 per cent. of the pre-war record. And that is true along the line. They had lost, in Government operation of factories in 1923, 200,000,000 gold rubles. Now Russia is bare of finished goods that its population wants. Their great Siberian farms, which are are analogous to ours, are largely run by tractors, and all kinds of automotive machinery is needed; they have not got it; their old machines are breaking down, and they have not the money or credit to buy new machines in large quantities. They want glass; they want shoe soles; they want everything that civilized people use, and they have not either the credit to get it or factories to make it.

Now, the first thing that happened when England recognized Russia was the immediate statement that Russia would expect great credits. What do they want them for? They want them to re-equip Russian industry along the lines of government ownership. They want to make finished products out of Russian raw material. The English, on the other hand, are extremely anxious to buy from Russia their raw material in order to put to work their unemployed population, and sell back to Russia the finished products they need so greatly.

I doubt very much if Russia is going to get anywhere money to rehabilitate its industries along present theories. I am not sure that, even under the present pressure, Russia is going to abandon completely, as far as the world in general is concerned, its communistic theories, and allow private enterprise to rebuild and operate its factories. Therefore they have to-day a great decision in front of them, and it is going to be very interesting to see how it is going to work out. If they will not take credit on the basis that credit can be given them they are undoubtedly going to become a farming nation, with their government solely and simply a commission merchant bartering the excess surplus of farm products for finished materials that they need in the country.

On the other hand, if conditions continue to develop in Russia as they had been developing up to last summer, when a reaction towards Communism again set in, then Russia is one of the greatest fields for development in the world. It is analogus to this continent in 1850, and it has available for its development all the experiences that we went through here from that time to this. It is a pioneer proposition for capital, with pioneer risks and pioneer profits, and it is an exceedingly interesting thing to see what is going to develop out of that mass of contradictory argument that just envelops you in a fog from which you cannot escape, and which you cannot make head or tail of, or any impression on, when you are in the country.

It is inconceivable, the argument that is going on in the public press in Russia at the present time between the wings of the Communistic Party, and it is inconceivable, the absolute indifference with which the Russian population takes that argument. They go ahead and they raise their food and make their clothing, so much as they can, and pay absolutely no attention to it. The argument is on the part of the small educated or semi-educated minority, and the work is on the part of the people, and it is an exceedingly interesting situation. It is without any parallel in any history that I have ever read, where the government has laws none of which that contain their basic principle are heeded to any great extent in business and commerce; and no man can do more than hazard a guess as to what is going to happen.

What it looks like is that Russia will compromise with the world the way it did with its own people in 1921. It will tell the world that it (the world) is not quite ready for Communism, and it will allow trade to be conducted with Russia and inside Russia on capitalistic principles until the great proletariat, as they please to call the workers in the different countries, will decide that their original ideas of the 1917 Revolution are correct.

Now, I do not mean to express the opinion that the Communists are bad. I think the majority of them are sincere. I had very intresting talks with several of the people, and one of my friends had a very interesting talk with an official of the Government on the subject of propaganda in this country which then formed the basis of quite a bitter exchange of views. This official said to my friend, "I see your Secretary of State looks under his bed every night to find a Communist there." He said, "I am not going to ask you any embarrassing questions; I am not going to ask you if you think we have any common sense, because that might embarrass you (laughter), but I am going to tell you what we know in this country. We know that nine-tenths of your working class either have their own houses or have substantial bank balances, or own an automobile. Now, do you think that if we had any money we would try to spend money making those people

Communists. (Laughter) Then he went on to tell my friend that so far as Russia was concerned, that in the opinion of the politician the only nations they had no suspicion of were England and America. He said, "You don't cross our track in any of your national ambitions. Then you are more efficient, and particularly the Americans have a greater sympathy with our problems because they represent space; you have space in your country." He said, "We have vast areas to open up, with tremendous railway problems. We must build roads because villages 20 miles apart cannot conveniently communicate with one another at present. We have got to spread popular education the way you have done. Now, we won't take advice from anybody as to sociological problems, but we admit frankly that we don't know one thing in the world about business; and when you get through seeing ghosts and looking under your bed for Communists every night there is nothing we want more than people from your continent to reorganize and revamp our business conditions and, in connection with our sociological life, to help us to work out our situation. You once saved us from a relapse into barbarism during the famine, and I think you will pull us up to a higher grade of civilization such as you have."

That is a very interesting thing, and very true. This official was not expressing his own opinion merely; he was expressing the opinion you hear all over Moscow—that it will well repay people in America at this time, who are thinking of making unofficial surveys of conditions, or people in your country who might think of so doing, to go over and look at Russia as it is, bad economically though it may be from our standpoint, and see what may develop out of that situation to the mutual good of the two countries. As a matter of fact Russia covers about a fifth of the globe, and the world is getting too small now to absolutely eliminate from consideration what one-fifth of the globe is doing. (Applause)

The only way you are going to do anything with Russia, or that Russia is going to do anything for itself, is to put into Russia education and prosperity. Those are the two best weapons against Communistic or Bolshevistic principles. You are not going to fight Communism, and beat it from the outside, but you are going to make normality come back into Russia in the proportion that their people become educated and you get individual prosperity. (Loud applause)

HON. WALLACE NESBITT conveyed the thanks of the Club to the speaker for his interesting address.

JAZZ; WHENCE? WHY? WHITHER?

AN ADDRESS BY MR. GEOFFREY O'HARA,
SINGER, COMPOSER, INTERPRETER.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, February 20, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker.

MR. O'HARA.

Mr. O'Hara was received with loud applause, and expressed his great pleasure and honour he felt in addressing such a noble and representative gathering in the greatest city of Canada on a subject which was occupying the attention of the curators of music in the United States and the world in general, and which has given a great deal of disgust to Supervisors' Conferences during the last five years. (Laughter) The subject was one that had created a great many enemies, filled many columns of newspapers, caused many jealousies among publishers, and increased the deposits of instrument makers.

Nobody knows just what Jazz is. (Laughter) It is like the rover in the hockey team; you look to him to secure all the goals because he cannot claim to be anything in special. It is like the wild deuce in a poker game. (Laughter) However, everybody in the world is on fire with music. No doubt we all love music. Regardless of the nation you go into, everybody loves music. A few here and there will really admit that they don't understand a note of music, like General Grant, who said he knew two tunes; one of them was "Yankee Doodle" and the other one wasn't. (Laughter)

Mr. O'Hara is a Canadian, born in Ontario. As a singer, composer, and entertainer he is unique. Sense and nonsense struggled with each other during a talk marked by musical versatility of an unusual order. But there was more than mere fun in the entertainment.

You can give a hundred definitions of Jazz and people won't know what it is. It is a misnomer, in the first place, and a great many people think the word should be dropped. As a matter of fact, although nobody knows its origin exactly, except it come from an old slang term, *Jazz Bow,* the most recent use of the word Jazz started in New Orleans in a dive that was down behind the police lines.

People enquire, "What is Jazz?" I always answer that in one way; I say, *"Jazz is the absence of better music."* (Great laughter)—Just as dust on a carpet is the absence of a carpet-sweeper; just as the dirty neck of a boy is the absence of soap and water. Of course there is nothing really the matter with dust, because dust is just misplaced mud, and mud is all right, goodness knows; it is just three per cent. earth and four per cent. water; and it is what grows all our beautiful plants, fruits and vegetables; and water is all right; we drink it—some of us (laughter)—we swim in it; we put it in the milk. (Laughter) In a restaurant the other day the waiter asked me if I would have milk or water, and I said milk, and I got both. (Laughter)

The word Jazz has been used in circus life in different places, to mean—it didn't mean anything! If anything went wrong they woud just say it was "Jazz." (Laughter) It was the wild deuce in the deck. The word was used for want of another term. If people would only invent terms in English language and give us something to use we wouldn't have to use those terms that were invented in blind-Tom-alleys and in dance halls. But there is no word that means "Wild deuce" in the deck, so we have to use the term, just as the old nigger in the New Orleans orchestra called his performance "Jazz.

A great many foreign artists say that English cannot be sung; that it is not a musical language. They never use the personal pronoun; they never say, "I can't do it, I never heard Dame Clara Butt sing; I have never heard John McCormack or Edward Lloyd, or Ben Davies; I never heard anything that Shakespeare wrote; I never heard English read by an artist." They don't say that, they only say, "It can't be sung because it isn't musical." Those foreign artists would lead us to suppose that the English of Byron and Keats and Shelley and Burns and Shakespeare cannot be sung because it is not musical; but I notice the enormous cheques they receive are written in English; they are very musical (laughter), in fact I think that is their National Anthem. (Great laughter) Of course that is just plain bunk—that English cannot be sung. Singing is simply glorified speaking, and when some of those foreigners will learn how to speak English they will have made the first step towards singing English. (Hear, hear and applause)

We used to call everything "popular songs"; then we got tired of that and called it "rag-time"; and then we called rag-time "Jazz." Goodness knows what the next word will be when we get tired of Jazz and invent another.

Nine-tenths of the things that Irving Berlin, the "King of Jazz," wrote has no Jazz in it; his "Alexander's Rag-time Band" has not one note of rag-time in it—(Imitating); it is the old Polish Schottische (Imitating); it is four beats to the bar,—bum, bum, bum, bumb; four bums to the bar (Imitating amid great laughter) I never use the word "bar" in the States any more, since we got Prohibition; I always say "measure." (Laughter) We took measures to get rid of the bar, but—to make a very terrible pun—the bars are there still. (Laughter) Out of those hell-holes of iniquity they moved the bars into the mountains, and they are there still. (Laughter)

When you get into one of those Jazz joints and ask a waiter to bring you in some food, he brings in lamb chops and French green peas. You look at the plate and see the peas all right—they are there, both of them. (Laughter) You ask where the lamb chops are, and he says, "They are under that right pea." (Laughter) You give it a little roll—it is one of those old-fashioned peas—they are making them square now so that they won't roll off the knife—and there they are hiding beneath the pea. You say, "What is the idea of this price? Why all this expense? It says on the bill-of-fare lamb and green peas $2.75." He replies, "It is the overhead." You look overhead, but you see only tinsel; but he means of course that the overhead is the music; you look over there and see one of those ivory-thumpers, one of those key-clawers, on of those piano-players, and there is a man with a "crying cornet" and a man with a "sobbing saxophone," one with a slippery slide trombone. They are playing, and a drummer with every conceivable noise in the world; the noises of the jungle are all there, and of the barnyard, too; the things that wake you up in the morning, and that keep you awake at night; indeed, every conceivable noise.

Now, to some people that gives a great deal of pleasure; to others it gives indigestion. To some people it is noise; to others it is music. So we must exercise toleration, because Shakespeare said, "Music is a concord of sweet sounds." People say, "You don't call Jazz music?" I ask them, "What is music?" and that sticks everybody. If you go to the dictionary you will find it is melody, it is notes, it is music, it is this and that and the other thing. Shakespeare said it; he said, "It is the concord of sweet sounds." He said, "He who hath not music in his soul is fit for treason, stratagem and spoils." I always reply to educators that if anyone is fit for treason, stratagem and spoils, without doubt that person did not have music put into his little soul when he was young. That is a fact. Visit the jails, and the majority of the inmates will tell you that they never had any of the fine arts put into their lives. In other words, when they got out into the world they had not been taught what to read or how to read. When you come to the evening of your life and sit in your easy chair and hear your little child—bone of your bone and blood of your blood—playing those tunes you learned in your childhood it is just as if you had a photograph in your memory of the little swimming-hole or the little school where you had your " pitcher took" with the rest of the children. It is that beautiful musical photograph that should be given to little children. It can be done in six months. In the absence of that that drives them to Jass, and I have asked hundreds and thousands of children that question. (Applause)

I said, "What a paradox!" on this morning there are 23 moving picture places going full blast three times a day teaching the children music. A great philosopher once said, "Let me make the songs of the people, and I care not who makes their laws."

Music is an important proposition; it has wonderful economic value. In Illinois it costs approximately $6,500 for every person put in an asylum or in jail. I went into a little school on the outskirts of an Ohio city. They had 600 children in the audience and 200 parents in front of me. On the piano I played a few tunes to the children and sang a couple of little Irish songs and "K-k-Katy." I played then a number of simple classics, but few children seemed to know them. I played the Melody in F, and one or two knew it. I played Mendelssohn's "Spring Song" and nobody knew it; then Mendelssohn's Wedding March, and about a dozen held up their hands. I said, "For the love of Mike, how do you people expect to get married?" (Laughter) I sat down and played "Little Nellie Kelly" and 600 hands went up. (Laughter) You have heard of the Irish florist on the 17th of March; he puts green ink at the roots of the white rose, and gets a green rose."

If you "feed" children classic music between 7 and 9 years of age you will get classical-minded children; but keep on as you are now and you will go on breeding Jazzy children. These little children were living on the outskirts of a town where there was dirt and filth, and nothing much else. That is a good place to breed criminals, where there is no community house; the church does not interest them; no music in the schools; the cheap teachers are underpaid, and when the children grow up and get free, away they go. When you trace the history of a lot of those young men you find they go wrong because they are not kept interested and kept busy.

I ran into one little school in Marietta, Ohio, where they give credit to children for work. If a boy does not like Geography, for instance, he is asked what he likes, and he says, "Well, I would like to work on guns," so they send him down to the gunsmiths, and give him "credit." If a boy can't like history, they send him down to the carpenter shop or elsewhere and give him "credit" for that, with the result that in 15 years they have not one boy sent from Marietta to Mansfield Reformatory. as Judge Ben Lindsay said, "Keep the boys busy."

He picked out of 500 twenty-five of the worst boys and made them monitors for the rest of the town. (Laughter) When I am going to give a concert in a "border town," and there are rowdies of all ages prowling around the theatre, I bring them all into the dressing room and say, "I want you to go out in the audience and keep a bunch of ruffians quiet, and the first one that makes a noise, clip him on the ear." They say, "All right; watch us." (Laughter) The audience will sit there quiet for fear of getting their heads knocked off. I remember a theatre owner saying to me, "They have been breaking my windows and everything." I asked him to send them to me in the dressing-room, and I sent them out to keep the others quiet. During the entire concert there was only one disturbance, and this was what I heard — "Shut your mouth, will you?" (Laughter) The kids sat like statues to hear the music. You see, I was keeping their minds busy.

There are two creative sides to human nature—physical and mental. People like to make things, to draw things, to think out things. A child should be taught to think constructively, to create. The Almighty has made us so that we can create on both planes—physical and mental. Now if the mental is not developed equally with the physical, the physical is very liable to run riot, to have nothing to hold it in check. That wonderful mental stimulus is the leaven in the life of the physical; it is a bolster, and the two things work absolute wonders if they are cultivated side by side to any extent at all. The Boy Scouts are taking children out and doing marvellous things for them, and the Girl Guides are doing similar things for girls. Many girls don't know much about anything; their occupation-instinct has not been developed, and most of them run riot because their physical creative ability is just twice what it should be, not having been held in mental check by the creative ability on the other plane. In the Western Hemisphere we give attention to the material, the manufacturing, while in the Eastern Hemisphere they develop the spiritual. But now the two things are coming together. We are developing on this continent men of great renown and calibre. I might mention such Captains of Industry as Otto Khan, Charles Schwab, and others, who have given so much to music. On these shores we are developing wonderfully fine men, for when you join financing and artistic ability you get a very wonderful thing. Now, the same thing should be done for children in the public schools—develop the creative ability, teach children how to think; tell them stories and encourage them to repeat to you those stories. I remember one of the teachers in the Toronto University who said that he would have only one paper set for entrance examinations, and that would be "Composition," for he could tell every-about the child if he had that one paper.

You will find that the folksongs of England, Ireland, Germany, France and even of the savages, were all made before the arrival of composition. That should be our foundation; start from that and grow, and not try to start from the top and come down. Some people think you can make a community musical by injecting into it a symphony orchestra, as you do serum into a patient. It can't be done. You must start with the children and teach them to sing as they do in England, as the Welsh miners go with their hymn-books under their arms, and have singing in their churches, singing in their homes around the piano, and singing as we do in the Rotary Club. Then music will develop, and a musical nation will be the result, but jamming music down people's throats from the top cannot be done; it must come from the bottom up, as everything else grows, as the oak tree grows, so that when the winds come along it will not blow down. If our nation had grown from the bottom up we would not have been blown down by this Jazz breeze that hit us ten years ago. (Applause)

Mr. O'Hara then invited questions, and immediately a call was made for him to sing "K-k-k-Katy." He responded amid applause. He showed how the soldiers sang it in France. He also told how one of the American soldiers said that the boys in Allenby's army had sung that song when entering Jerusalem. It made him feel very proud to be the composer of the song that took the Holy City! (Laughter) The soldiers had added that in those days what the soldiers sang was "K-k-k-Koutie." (Great laughter) The American soldier had added that the song was very popular with the boys, and it ran in their heads all day long! (Great laughter) The speaker then gave the song in Yiddish, amid loud laughter. He told of a teacher who was asking her class to tell about the American Indian—how tall he was, how he was straight up and down, and silent and stoic; then she asked, "Now, children, what is a stoic?" One of the Yiddish pupils replied, "A stoic is the boid that brings the babies." (Great laughter) The teacher said, "No, Izzy, you have the wrong "woid"; and Izzy said, "You can't 'hoit' my feelings." Another teacher asked a class to make up a sentence using the word "judicious." A boy said, "My mother makes kalte feesh and other Jew dishes." (Great laughter)

Now, I want to do something to show that it is not the tune, but it is the way it is played. I contend good music badly played ceases to be good music. I have heard good music played at times, and it was the most atrocious stuff in the world. Yet you can hear Levinne take simple pieces and invest them with beauty so that they become very wonderful. Last night in Massey Hall he proved the old aying that greatness in life does not consist so mush in doing great things as it does in doing the common things of life uncommonly well. (Applause) I want to show you that it is not the tune, but "how it is played" that gives the effect.

(The speaker then played Yankee Doodle in ordinary time, and then like a ballad. He then played "Katy" in imitation of a music-box, a steam calliope at the circus, a side-show at the circus, the chimes of church bells, as a dirge, and as a waltz. He also gave an imitation of Tango as played in Argentine, and a specimen of "Everlasting Jazz." This performance elicited loud and prolonged applause and laughter.)

SIR EDMUND WALKER voiced the thanks of the Club to the Speaker for his wonderfully interesting and instructive address.

CANADA'S PLACE AMONG THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING NATIONS

AN ADDRESS BY HOWARD P. WHIDDEN, B.A., LL.D., D.D., CHANCELLOR OF MCMASTER UNIVERSITY.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, February 28, 1924.

CHANCELLOR WHIDDEN.

Chancellor Whidden was received with loud applause, and expressed his great appreciation of the kind words of introduction, and said he would be very happy if he felt as sure of the results of the selection of to-day's Speaker as he was of the kind of service this Club had rendered to the growing life of our country. He also appreciated the privilege and honour of being asked as a fellow-citizen to speak on a subject, which he trusted might prove mutually interesting and beneficial. In standing before the Club he felt a good deal as Artist No. 1 felt when, after greeting Artist No. 2, he told his friend, "I never felt better; I have just got a commission from a millionaire; he wants his children's portraits painted very badly indeed"; to which Artists No. 2 responded, "You are just the man to do it; I recommend you heartily." (Laughter)

The relations of the English-speaking nations is one of the most vital things in the world's life at the present time. The set we give to the thinking,

---

Chancellor Whidden is a Nova Scotian, a graduate in Arts of Acadia University, and in Theology of McMaster Univeristy with study at Chicago University. He was pastor of a church in Dayton, Ohio, for nine years; president Brandon College, Manitoba, 1912-23, and inducted as Chancellor of McMaster in 1923. During his presidency of Brandon College he represented Brandon Constituency in the Dominion Parliament, 1917-21.

and the acting, the co-operative acting in particular, of the English-speaking nations in the next few years, is going to affect very materially the progress of civilization and the destiny of the non-Anglo-Saxon races. (Hear, hear)

I do not think we who believe in the Empire Club —and what is much more important still, who believe in the Empire—desire to think or speak in terms merely of flag-waiving and barn-storming, in in these serious and epoch-making times. We feel a good deal more like Milner did when he spoke to an audience in Montreal a number of years ago—it is given in the introduction to his book, "The Nation and the Empire." He said, "I am intensely conscious of all that the Empire stands for in the world, of all that it means in the great march of human progress; I am so anxious to give the fullest and yet unexaggerated expression of my sense of the high privilege of British citizenship, that there is nothing so odious as cant; and this is a subject on which it is particularly easy to seem to be canting. Not that I am afraid to be falling into a strain of boastfulness—that the last thing that the thought of Empire inspires in me is to boast—but to show how real Britain is, when I think of it I am much more inclined to go into a corner by myself and pray." Perhaps some of us did not know Lord Milner felt that way about it; but coming from a man of his temperament and his experience, as expressive of the serious aspects of this whole business of Empire relationship and Empire development, of Empire influence and Empire service to the great wide world, I think it puts into simple earnest sentences the feeling of all the best men in this city and in this Dominion at the present time. (Applause)

Now, for our purpose we go a little beyond the Empire when we speak of the English-speaking nations. We are thinking of the United Kingdom, of Australia, New Zeland, South Africa, possibly

Newfoundland—though, more properly speaking, still a crown colony—and of Ireland, latest-born of the separate members of the Empire. We are thinking, of course, of Canada, and then we add the most populous section of the English-speaking world, the United States of America. You see we leave out India; we leave out the important colonies and dependencies; we leave out the little bits of important critical centres that are owned by the United Kingdom, such as Gibraltar and Malta; and we confine our attention entirely to the group named, and within that group to a much smaller group. We find Newfoundland dropping off, as standing in a place by itself. Then we find that South Africa, Australia and New Zealand are so widely separated both from the Motherland and from the United States and Canada that while we would hold ourselves in readiness to give more sympathetic consideration to the outstanding problems of those important parts of the English-speaking community of nations than we have ever done, I am satisfied that for the purposes of our thinking to-day we must leave these nations out of our thought, though with utmost concern and regard.

Then I suppose it is always safer for a man who is unfortunate enough not to be part Irish just to leave Ireland where it is, and perhaps think of Ireland largely in the old relationship, as a part of the United Kingdom and Ireland.

That narrows us down, then, to the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada. It would be impossible to speak adequately of the United Kingdom, of all that has come to be centered in that little Island, of all that has gone out from that sea-girt Isle, as poets have termed it. I think we shall have to refer to the United Kingdom by referring especially to the United States and Canada in their respective relations.

What about the United States as an English-speaking Nation? We remember our histories, and they were written sometimes with a little squint. Being so close to the United States, we have found it hard to forget some things; but I may say this—that notwithstanding things that happened, notwithstanding the failure to co-operate at times, and the parring notes that entered in, yet that following the satisfactory disposition of the Venezeula affair, there came a better understanding between Canada and the United States. We have not appreciated just what influences were brought to bear that strengthened and hastened that development. Some of us know journalists who had a very considerable part to play; and we would not be courteous and mindful if we did not mention, as an outstanding representative of that group, the illustrious father of one of our distinguished guests—a speaker to this Club in 1923—I refer to the late Ambassador Page, of course. (Hear, hear and applause)

Then the strained relations began again—did it not?—in August, 1914, and it continued until early in 1917. It was not so much that most of us Canadians had any grudge against the American people, but we felt some way or other that their government was not steering things just right, that their kind of neutrality did not altogether coincide with Canadian views of world responsibility. Be that as it may, they finally got started as supporters of the same cause, and things began to go rapidly towards harmonious and mutual understanding—the conception of British men towards American, and of American men towards British men.

Whatever our conception of the late Woodrow Wilson may be, I am sure that what he said as a Professor at Princeton back in 1895 will meet with your aproval. Here is one sentence; "The Common British stock did first make the country and has always set the pace." (Applause) Not Canada, but the United States. Just a little later Senator Lodge—who, to speak frankly, bedeviled the whole League of Nations situation so far as the unity and complete agreement of all English-speaking peoples in relation to such a world court is concerned—was nevertheless a good student of history, of patronymics, and all the rest of it; and about twenty-five years ago he found that of 14,243 leading Americans, 12,519 had British names. In 1915, of 387 high officials in State Governments, 326 had British names. These are only straws, but when thrown on the current they show which way it is running. (Applause)

But to give something of more importance—something that it seems to me commits all the really representative and far-sighted American leaders to a similar position—I will quote H. H. Powers, who wrote well and wisely before his Government brought their country into the war. Late in 1916, in "The Things Men Fight For," he said:—

> "Which will win, I do not know; which is best, I will not say; but one thing I do know and will say, yes, I will proclaim it from the housetops,—the British Civilization is ours. In it we live and move and have our being. Outside it we have no future. Let no man deceive us. Let us listen to no specious sophistries about our composite people and our distinctive civilization. We speak one language, we cherish one literature, we recognize one political principal of temperate central rule and local freedom, and these are the language and literature and the ideals of Britain. Our civilization, like our language, is the gift of a single people, and the difference between here and there is hardly greater in civilization than in speech. And this civilization will survive or perish as a unit. If it triumphs in its present struggle, we share in its triumph. If it fails, we shall as cer-

> tainly see these instincts and these institutions discredited and ultimately discarded."

Now may I tax your patience to read just one more expression—this from Prof. Giddings, of Columbia, just after the United States came into the war. In making a contribution to "International Conciliation" he said:—

> "The English-speaking people of the world are together the largest body of human beings among whom nearly a complete intellectual and moral understanding is already achieved. They have reached high attainments in Science and the Arts, in education, in social order, in justice. They are highly organized; they cherish the traditions of their common history. To permit anything to endanger the moral solidarity of this nucleus of a perfected internationalism would be a crime unspeakable."

Now, Mr. President, I believe that statement of Prof. Giddings holds true to-day, after the war; and the last sentence of it holds true just as much as it did in those critical days of April, 1917; and while cousins always claim the right to have their little differences we must see to it, as thorough-going lovers of our Empire, that we use our influence at all times to promote the solidity of English-speaking nations in the free—and shall I say loosely-related—arrangement, by means of which all that has been suggested by those representative Americans shall be conserved for the sake of Canada and the rest of the British Empire. (Applause)

There is one thing, when we think of the United States, that we simply cannot get away from, and that is the fact that it is the largest single nation in the world speaking the same language that we speak; and as Professor Dunning said:—"An intimate like-mindedness (which the use of a common language begets) is the indispensible factor in permanent international amity." (Applause)

One of the things that convinces me that we need to recognize the important part both English-speaking nations of the North American Continent are to continue to play in relation to this whole matter to which reference has been made, was the reply of Bismarck to a question asked of him. Skaggs in "German Conspiracies in America," page 65, 66, says that Bismarck a few years before his death, on being asked to name the single greatest fact in modern political history replied instantly—so the story goes —"The inherent and permanent fact that North America speaks English." (Applause) Ah, the old iron fellow saw it. He did not understand it. He did not understand the psychology of the situation, but he recognized the fact and knew that all of his plans and his successors' plans in Germany would have to be made in full recognition of that outstanding fact, in view of all its intricate bearings.

Now, what of Canada in relation to this whole business? It is not a new thought, and yet I find a great many intelligent Canadians do not seem to have recognized it adequately yet. Canada stands in a quite different position from any other member of the British Empire. (Hear, hear) We are not near the Motherland, and yet we are drawing nearer by reason of the progress of scince and invention. We are not near Australia, New Zeaand, and South Africa, as has already been indicated, but we are very near the one English-speaking nation which is not within the bounds of the British Empire. I have no patience with the extreme sentiment expressed by an English writer just before the war began, when he said, "Britain is waging a deadly conflict with America for the possession of Canada's soul." (Laughter) Ah, no; no, no, no; Canada owns her own soul (applause), and proposes to give her heart's best affection and her head's best loyalty and her hand's best strength to the Motherland for many long generations to come. (Hear, hear and applause)

But now, here we are. We are not going to talk about that 3,000-mile stretch of undefended borders. We do not need to do that. The fact of it is, however, that it is not altogether a protected border, and we are open to unconscious influences that perhaps need to be called to our attention from time to time. I think the examination of any Canadian's library table will reveal what is going on. You go to the same kind of library table in Australia—that of a manufacturer or a merchant or a professional man—and you will find a different assortment of literature altogether. (Hear, hear) Australia is working out its own educational problems very largely in view of natural relationships with the Mother Country, studying Oriental development and studying European developments, and taking what it cares to select. We are right here on the border. We are not a wealthy people. Especially is that true of our studious young men and young women; so, even in the matter of university training, post-graduate work, and what not, we find that educationally we in Canada most naturally are influenced in a very large way by the educational institutions of the United States of America. I am not going to speak of commerce and economics; you might think that I was on one side or the other in politics, though it would be pretty hard to tell which side some people are on, from the discussion of economics to-day. (Laughter) Socially there we are. Canada has the greatest difficulty of any member of the British Empire in developing a clear and clean-cut type of nationhood for herself—(hear, hear); but we are doing it, and we propose to do it even better. (Hear, hear)

Are we Americanized? I think not; yet we are more like the Americans than any other English-speaking people in the world. Why do we propose to remain Canadian and to develop what, for want of a better term, we frequently call Canadian spirit? Well, simply because we are here as an entity. We are a Canadian unit, a Canadian people; a Canadian Nation, if you please. We have developed a distinct type of life and a national consciousness of our own. On the south side of our exposure there is all this contact and inter-relationship with the most populous and most wealthy member of the group of English-speaking nations. But then we have an eastward exposure, which means that in building up our nationhood, in talking of the tradition and inheritance that we propose to retain, we do so with glad and grateful recognition that the bonds are tightening all the time between us and the country that sent us hither generations ago. (Applause)

Now, just a word with regard to Canadian development. It would take a long time to go through that. I was interested in picking up not long ago a little remark that Lord Dufferin made in a letter written to Lord Kimberley back in the Dufferin regime. I think it is rather interesting. Now, several keen and, shall I say, pro-British-American writers have been very much interested in recent years in noting what a marked sense of uncertainty pervaded the minds of many people in the Canadas in the early Victorian and mid-Victorian era, and that a majority of members of both Houses at Westminster, were feverish and purturbed when it looked as if there was likely to be anything in the nature of self-government over here. But this is what Dufferin said, in his characteristic way:—

> "I have been very much bored and worried, and it is vexatious being dragged into such a dirty quarrel; and I regret coming into collision with any section of my Canadians. But I don't think their ill-humor will last long, and I am not sorry to have an opportunity of showing them that however anxious I am to be gracious and civil I don't care a damn for any one when a matter of duty is involved."

Well, we have gone a long way since then, gentlemen. We have gone a dangerous way; and I insist that we are nearer the heart of the Motherland today than we were then. (Applause) Confederation came in the years that followed, and gradually, unannouced, and almost silent development of spirit and self-consciousness. Then came the Boer War, and the results of our participation in it, and further developments in the piping times of peace; then the Great War, and all that that leg in the journey has meant in the development of real, practical, moral self-consciousness of our own Canadian Nation. (Applause)

Before resuming my seat I would like to make this plea: that we Canadians shall recognize our very evident opportunity, since we are here on the North American Continent, since we are next to the United States of America, since there is interplay and interrelationship, and we do come to know them as no other English-speaking people in the world know them. I want to make a plea that in no self-satisfied or Pharisaic way we go about our business, but ever being ready to lend a hand in interpreting to the United States this or that phase of Empire activity or thinking, this or that phase of a misunderstood situation in the United Kingdom, because we have the eastern exposure as well as the southern exposure. We know and love the Empire and the Motherland; we understand and appreciate it—and never more than in recent years has that been true; and our position makes it possible for us to make a magnificent contribution as true interpreters of British policy and ideas to our Canadian cousins.

And it is going to be needed. The very fact that there have been breaks, the very fact that there have been misunderstandings, again, and not infrequently since Armistice Day, shows that we must hold ourselves steady, that we must think calmly and sanely; that, for instance, we will never take quite the extreme position that I heard a rather distinguished elder statesman in the House of Commons take one time when he declared that he would never have five cents worth of trade with a country that would discount the currency of his country by one five cent piece. (Laughter)

After all, has not Kipling hit it off, Gentlemen?

Truly ye come of the Blood!
Flesh of the flesh that I bred, bone of the bone that I bare.
Start as your sons shall be, stern as your fathers were.
So long as the Blood endures
I shall know that your good is mine, ye shall feel that my strength is yours
In the day of Armageddon, at the last great fight of all
That our House stand together, and the pillars do not fall.

(Applause)

It is for us, in this new, sparsely settled country with a rich and mighty heritage, with boundless natural resources, with traditions and institutions and ideals to become great within ourselves, great in our relations with the American Republic—the most populous, thus far, of all the English-speaking nations—and great in our relations with the United Kingdom and the other glorious members of the Empire, of which we Canadian men have never been so proud as at the present time. (Loud and continued applause)

REV. DR. SEAGER expressed the thanks of the Club, which he was sure was grateful for the wisdom and the courage of Dr. Whidden's message. (Applause) He was a courageous man who in any Canadian audience, it did not matter of what nature, would stand up and make a plea such as had been made, not for this or that specific thing so much as that we Canadian people have really and honestly to face the facts and try to understand that great people to the South of us. (Hear, hear) That was the essence of the plea made to-day, however distasteful to many Canadian minds and traditions may be the idea of the United States, he hoped that all would take it to heart. At any rate, here was a duty which as responsible citizens of the world as well as of our own country we should endeavor to discharge. The speaker's message had been not only a courageous one, but a wise one, carefully stated, without exaggeration, with no undue claim upon us, but an appeal to our moral sense of social responsibility. There were three great forces lying behind the possibilities of this nation. The first was that she exists north of the 49th parallel on the North American Continent; the second, that behind her she has the urge and consent and impulse of the British traditions; and the third, her proximity to the United States of America. Those three forces form the underlying determinant elements that are making this people—whether we like it or not—and the Canadian citizen would be wise who recognizes those outstanding certainties. Dr. Whidden has enabled his audience to feel them as perhaps they had not been felt before, and hence the audience would no doubt be glad to have their very greatful thanks expressed. (Loud applause)

THE PROPER LIMITATIONS OF STATE INTERFERENCE

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. STEPHEN LEACOCK,
B.A., PH.D., MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
March 6th, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause.

PROF. STEPHEN LEACOCK.

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Empire Club,—What I am going to say, Sir, will give offence, I trust, to many present—otherwise it would not be worth saying to such a large gathering as this. It is too often the fate of associations such as this that the speaker spreads before them an after-dinner banquet of platitudes, offending nobody and pleasing few. My task is different. I am to speak on a controversial subject in which I cannot hope to agree with all of you, but I know that you will give me at least that respectful sympathy which you always extend to the people who come from our spacious and hospitable Province of Quebec. And therefore, for greater certainty, I think it wiser to say to you in a few words the substance of what I have to say.

Stephen Leacock was born in England and came to Canada in 1876. He was educated at Upper Canada College, University of Toronto (B.A., 1891), and Chicago University (Ph. D., 1903). He is professor of Political Economy in McGill University, Montreal. He is the author of books on political science, and articles on historical topics and has contributed humorous and satirical sketches to many journals. British and American journals acclaim him as a great humorist, but he is more than a humorist. He has opinions on economic problems and on the functions of governments and expresses these with frankness and courage.

I will give you my whole wit in a word; and it is to try and establish this—that at the present age and in the present country we are in danger of over-government; that we are suffering from the too-great extension of the functions of the State; that it is doing already great harm to our economic life, and threatening greater still; doing a great deal to undermine the sounder principles of morality and self-reliance, and doing much to imperil the older and sterner spirit of British liberty on which our commonwealth was founded.

I am saying we are suffering too much from the extension of State activity, from a well-meaning notion that the State is to lead us all, and that we all must follow and take our pattern from it. The common man no doubt expects this kind of doctrine, and follows along with the crowd. He is willing to live the kind of life that other people impose upon him; a life that is dictated by other people's example and circumscribed by collective legislation. So that you find that such a man has no higher aim now than to shout along with the crowd, to look to collective guidance for his own morals, and to take his ideas of family affection from a silly thing called a legislative Mothers' Day. Under such a new and foolish method of collective activity a man proposes to remind himself of his mother's character by Act of Parliament, and to take also his whole patriotism and enthusiasm from some kind of collective bleating of a luncheon club.

If, then, this is our theme, let us turn back for a moment to the pages of history, let us consider the period of the opening of the modern industrial era, about a century ago. During this period the current tendency of society was exactly in the other direction. The danger that threatened was not a too great interference of the State but the too great liberty of the individual. Such action and reaction comes and goes. The tide ebbs and flows;

and if we look back to the full flowing of that tide a hundred years ago, in the days of the first beginnings of industrial England, we find that the whole danger then was from too much unrestrained individual liberty, too much reliance upon the principle of private ownership and free competition, a false conception of freedom which meant that the freedom of the few was destined to be the slavery of the many.

Now if I am here advocating a return to the principle of every man for himself, a return to a measure of greater freedom, I say it as one who has studied history and is fully aware of those melancholy pages in the past. You do not need to remind me of how grievous were the sorrows of the English workers under unrestrained free competition when the employer had nothing to fear from the full scope of what is called a "free" contract, and when the workers were rapidly degenerating into slaves. Anybody who has read our history knows that there are no sadder pages in our annals than those that are blotted with the tears of the children of the English factories. There is no man whose conception of freedom should make him willing to bring back those evil and already half-forgotten days. I would indeed that we could forget them forever, and that the shame of unrestrained free competition and all that it meant to the working class could be blotted once and for ever from the industrial history of our Mother Country.

For that was a time when the rich grew richer and richer, and the poor grew poorer and poorer; when labour was bitter and hard; when little children began with their tenderest years a life work of unremitting toil; when young lives that might have blossomed in the sunlight faded and perished in the gloom of the factory and the darkness of the mine. Those were evil days, and they brought with them, alas, a kind of accumulated bitterness against "capital," an accumulated bitterness of those who were employed against those who employed them, which lingers still even in our time. If we have not yet been able to strike a happy medium between freedom and restraint, between open competition and State regulation, it is partly because of that historic bitterness that haunts those earlier pages of our history.

I say then that a too great liberty brought about this conflict, obscured the fact that after all there is only one principle yet discovered upon which industrial society can rest—the principle of "*every man for himself;*" and that is the principle which we have fearlessly to reassert in our industrial life. It sounds like brutal selfishness. It sounds like the worst of callousness; but I tell you, Gentlemen, that there is no other fundamental motive that can animate our economic life than the principle that each one stands and must stand for himself, and must work out his own salvation or his own damnation. We may modify it as we like—we may invoke the action of the State to make the conditions fair; but do not let us think that the action of the State can ever take the place of the free prompting of individual effort, the free and noble struggle to advance oneself in the world. I call that by that name—a noble struggle—for there is too much misunderstanding on that point. We are beginning to admire the lazy loafer who will not work, the man who would rather live upon a dole than make an effort to save himself; and we are beginning to look with suspicion on anything that seems to spell effort and success; and there, I tell you, we are wrong. (Applause)

Now let me admit to the full that those evil days of unrestrained competition have taught us that the State has a certain legitimate regulative function. There is nobody now who would turn his back on the principle of the Factory Acts. There is nobody now who would take the obstinate individual point of view of such men as Cobden and Bright. Adored as they were in one respect as apostles of what seemed to them the gospel of free trade, at the same time they were men of their period—mill-owners who did not propose to let the law interfere with the time and hours and conditions of what they called their own property.

Sir, we have changed all that. Each and every one of us admits the right of obtrusive interference there. That is a permanent achievement of the human race. That is a milestone of progress, the final assertion that the right of property must always be limited by the anterior right of one's fellow-men. But when we have said all that, the question remains as to how far that regulation is going to extend, and where justice begins and ends, and where a proper and legitimate conception of what is one's own property must meet with a valid conception of the things that concern the State.

Now, from that era there was brought down not merely a legacy of hatred against capitalism, but another thing was brought down from it—the haunting vision of socialism. I do not know that anything nobler ever came into our history than that vision. I do not know that there is any conception in the world to-day as noble as the ideal of socialism; that pictured vision as of a second advent which the apostle of socialism sees when he looks towards the dawn in the East; that time to come when none shall work for himself, but each for all, when there shall be no rich and no poor, no hardship and no oppression; when each and every one will share in the glory of a common heritage. Sir, if that were possible, what better could any one ask for mankind? And when I see a man whose socialism means that, when I see a man whose socialism is a burning creed of religion within him, then I am prepared to respect him, and I am not one of those who would impose the clamp of the law on the mouth of a man merely because he uses the words socialist and socialism. If the truth is in him let him talk. The only remedy for finding out the truth is to let people talk. There is an old Scotch maxim—"They say; what say they? Let them say;" and there is no better vantage ground for truth than in the open forum of free controversy.

But the more you talk about socialism, the more the vision fades upon your sight. There is but one objection to it, which is pathetic in its completeness—it is a thing that will not and cannot work. Men being as they are, and the world being as it is, you can form no commonwealth on such a basis, for we are not brothers yet. We are not even brotherly nations, let alone brotherly individuals; and underneath each of us are the teeth and claws of the rapacious animal that will have its own; and any scheme or system that is founded on a brotherly love that does not exist can only lead us into chaos, can only lead us into a system of Russian communism, can only lead us to feed on the dead corpse of what we have taken two thousand years to construct.

It is fair that we should face this issue. Which way are we going? Towards the organization of an attempted socialism, towards that will-of-the-wisp of the marshes leading us to where we perish, or back towards the sounder, sterner, harder ground of individual effort? That is the choice that we have to make. That is the great question—the question especially for every leader of society and labour leader to think out for himself, and ask what is it that he means. Is he going to break away from the principle of private ownership? Does he want to extend State activity and State ownership until it swallows all society? What is his aim? He must face the issue fairly. These are new times for labour. These are not the old dark days when organized labour was under the ban of conspiracy. These are no longer the days when the prison awaited anything like an attempt at the organization of labour. Those days are gone. Labour now stands omnipotent as far as the democratic vote can make it so; and labour has to think out what it is going to do with its strength? In what direction is it going to expend its power? Is the labour movement to be an experiment in socialism, or merely a safe and sane return to a proper individualism?

I take that, Sir, to be the great problem which faces not our country alone but all the industrial countries of the world; and it is a fact that such problems as this are obscured in every country by particular issues. Few people seem to care to face the thing as a broad general proposition. Few people, perhaps, have the opportunity. Their own immediate interest looms so large before them that they will not ask, Which way is society moving? In my opinion we are moving towards socialism. We are moving through the mist; nearer and nearer with every bit of government ownership and governmental regulation, nearer and nearer through the mist to the edge of the abyss over which our civilization may be precipitated to its final catastrophe. Over such an abyss has the civilization of Russia been precipitated. It is the duty of everybody who knows anything of the truth about Russia to speak out. A kind of mirage is over it, due to the distance of 5,000 miles—a mirage behind which we are told to see a happy, rejuvenated country; and a mirage that hides beneath its shade the uncounted corpses of Petrograd; a mirage which conceals from our sight the horrors and catastrophes which communism has meant there, and beckons with a false allurement towards an example from which a nearer vision would make us retreat in horror. Sweep that cloud away, and we can see more clearly and know what is to be the future fate of our own continent; and I tell you, Sir, there is nothing that can make it straight but public opinion—not of politicians, who are only the mouthpieces of opinions framed elsewhere—but the opinion formed in gatherings such as this, among men such as you, where the collective influence can be found which will dictate the policy of the future.

What I am saying, then, if I might put it in simple, almost prosy, business-like speech, is this—that we need to get back to a sane capitalism. The "capitalist" is not such a dreadful sinner as some people think. We have called him so many hard names, we have labelled him with such a lot of epithets, that the poor fellow scarcely shows his face. We have got him almost taxed to extinction, and we turn the screw further and further with every annual budget. We have got him to the point now where the best he can do is to hide his wealth and keep himself in the shade, crying out, if he can, "I, too, am poor!"

There is no country in the world where we need to get away from that more than in Canada. What we need here is capital. The alpha and omega of our present situation is the need of capital. Either we have great assets in this country or we have not. If we have not, then nothing matters; we are all here under a misunderstanding. But if we have assets, then the need of the day is the development of our assets, and for that we must have capital. That is the secret to it—not immigration; the immigrants will follow the capital. Bring in all the available capital that we can from all over the world, and especially from the British Empire, and let the test of the enterprise be that the individual shall see his profit in it; not that the Government shall be allowed to put more and more and more money, to go deeper and deeper in a morass, to pile up fixed charges greater and greater, until the sheer weight of the burden breaks us down. Not that, but a fair and open opportunity for anybody in the world—in the British world—who has money to send to us to build up our country and make for himself a handsome and an honourable fortune. (Applause)

I belong to a University, the freest and best in all the world,—that owes its initiation, its continued existence, and all that it is, to the munificence of the grateful capitalists of Canada, to those who came here as poor men, such as old James McGill, and found their fortune in this country, and who then saw to it that when they left this earthly scene, some nobler memorial was made to their memory than a mere inheritance tax return. I say that we need capital here, and we don't need to be afraid to take every possible fair and legitimate step to bring it here—and above all, British capital. (Hear, hear, and applause)

I am aware that we are getting here on doubtful ground,—at least for some of you, but not for me. I am sure of what I say. We need *British* capital. (Hear, hear) There are projects that are mooted now that depend on money that is to be given us by the people of the United States. There is one splendid and vast project, appealing in its outline, for turning the St. Lawrence River into a still greater highway, the greatest perhaps in all the world; and in the hurry to have that done some of our citizens are turning eager eyes towards the capital of the United States, and they propose to carry out the St. Lawrence waterways project by letting half of it be done by American money, and thereby giving them half the control of it forever.

Now, Sir, I say that, outside of our own British relations, we have no better friends than the people of the American Republic. On our continued friendship with them hangs the safety of the world. That is not exaggeration; that is plain truth. (Applause) Those of you who go among them as I do, know that their institutions are so closely allied to ours, their life is so similar to ours, their ideals so closely in sympathy with ours, that it would be an unspeakable crime against humanity itself if ever there could be an armed conflict between these two great countries. (Applause) But I tell you, Sir, that the way to lay the first steps towards such a conflict, the way to begin to strain those relations that have stood the test of a hundred years, is to introduce such a tangled and dubious relationship as an American partial control of what is now our own waterway. Sooner than that, Sir, let it wait. The world will live long after us, and Canada will long survive those to whom I speak now. But the monument that we build, the legacy that we leave—that will survive; and let it not be said of our generation that in our eager haste to make money and still more money we sold our own country for the making of it. (Applause)

I am not prepared to say whether that St. Lawrence project is economically sound or not. I do not know. The best of us dispute over that question. You people here in Toronto, looking at it from your point of view, are apt to think it a wonderful thing. We in Montreal are a little doubtful. But judgments such as those, Sir, mere superficial opinions of the crowd, may only mean that we each see the length of our own nose, and as our nose at Montreal is already in the St. Lawrence, we don't need to look any further.

My idea of it is that whether that project is to be taken up or not, whether we are to make the St. Lawrence an ocean highway or not, we should at least do it with British capital or not do it all all. If the thing is ever done, let it stand as another memorial to the unity of the British people. I would sooner wait till Niagara Falls run dry, till the seabeach covers Toronto again, as it once did, till there is nothing left of Canada but Mount Royal and McGill University on the side of it, rather than imperil the true way of solving that and every other British problem.

That is that, as we say in England.

But I should like to say a few words on another aspect of the interference of the State, and that is the attempt to regulate the moral conduct and the private life of the individual. Let me repeat that I am not indulging in any attack upon any particular persons or any particular code of law. I am aiming higher than that, and I am talking of what has come to be, all over America, to my mind, a new aberration of the State—the notion that the State can make us good, that the State can make us moral, and that the moral good that we cannot achieve by our own effort can be beaten and kicked into us by the gratuitous activity of the State.

Sir, morality was never laid upon that basis. That is not the morality on which our Christian religion was founded. There was no whip and scourge to promulgate the teaching of Jesus Christ; but there are some people who have grown so anxious for morality, to sweep away everything that they think wrong, that they have no time for the working of the spirit, no time for the inner light, no time for the kind of persuasion that spread Christianity through an unwilling world. They want a quicker, a more brutal method than that; the method of torment, of punishment, the method of legislative regulation which says, "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not." And for the basis of such regulation there is to be the simple will of a majority. What we are to do in our own private life is to be dictated this year that way, the other year that other way, according to the 51 people that outvote the rest of every 100. Those who founded democracy could have looked for no such absurdity as that. Those who founded our Democracy cherished in their hearts the notion that John Stuart Mill has so finely expressed—that there is and must remain some corner of private life, some sphere in which the individual rules himself, and in which his soul is all his own. People of an earlier day did not look upon it as a part of government to make us moral by Act of Parliament, moral by legislative statute. They had another ideal then—that if we are to be good people, our goodness must be from within, and when laws are kept only on compulsion—or, worse still, when they are only partially kept, at least, and broken when they can be broken, such a law is counter to the fundamental spirit of society.

Our democracy in America has been learning to make itself the newest form of tyranny. It has obtruded where kings never dared step. It has inflicted its pains and penalties, and laid down its code in spheres of human life where the grossest tyrant of the Middle Ages stayed his hand. Let that go further, and see where it will lead. What a poor, docile set of slaves we shall be again in the Socialistic state, with every phase of our conduct regulated by the law! What, think you, is there in that of true morality? What, Sir, is that but the morality of the penitentiary?

That kind of legislation, that kind of regulation, can never effect the aim at which it strives, can never reach the goal that it sets before itself, for it starts from the wrong premise—the premise that it is in the power of society to whip and beat the individual into moral goodness; and forever such an attempt is bound to fail. All that there is of human worth was not based on that; it came from the human soul, from deeper promptings than those that can be inspired from an intrusive Act of Parliament.

But I turn, in conclusion, to one other aspect of our general theme which, in a way, embraces every other within it—the freedom of speech. There is a thing that we are in danger of losing—the freedom of speech; that kind of instinctive possession of the British people which made them what they were; that sense of fair play; that feeling that every man has a right to his opinion, however silly his views may be; the sacred right to say it, unimpeded by the law. We are substituting now a kind of collective repression partly by law and partly by fear, that obtrudes itself everywhere, that will not let a man speak out and say what he thinks; and in that we are doing an infinite harm.

I am not speaking here of war-time, for there repression must rule. The laws must sleep, said Goldwin Smith, when the Nation is fighting for its life. But we have been carrying the code of war-time into the time of peace. We have been supressing, and legislating, and preventing, until we are getting a new code—the code of the timorous and fearful, that are afraid of words and shadows; a code that will imprison a man for calling himself a Communist or Socialist. If he wishes, let him call himself by those names. What harm can it be? If it is truth it would be only right, and if it is falsehood let him speak it out and let it wither upon his lips. We are come to an age when men are losing their first birthright as British citizens, when they will not say what they think, like it who will and be damned to them.

I am thinking here particularly of our general attitude towards all such people as Bolshevists, Communists, Revolutionaries, Socialists. We are getting now so that we want to put them all in jail at once without hearing what they have got to say.

Now, let me say what I think on that. I think that the older system, the truly British system, was good—that as long as a man was merely talking generalities against no one in particular or assignable, not openly inciting to rebellion, then let him talk. Let him call himself an Anarchist if he wants to—the more fool he. Let him condemn himself out of his own mouth; but once you start with a rigorous censorship and oppressive legislation prohibiting the words, Free Communist and Anarchist, you will turn revolution into martyrdom; and martyrdom is the most successful thing that ever the world has known. There is nothing that will spread abroad anything, true or false, like the flames of martyrdom, because if the people whom you martyrize have the hardihood to stand the punishment that you impose, you only turn society against the truth and make their martyrdom the very instrument of error.

There is only one thing that will do away with error, and that is the open sunlight of publicity, of British free speech, the open sunlight of discussion, open ridicule if you like, but free discussion of everything. And there is no place where that kind of freedom is more threatened on this continent than in the colleges. A notion is going abroad that the colleges must be dedicated especially to certain pious creeds, to certain economic beliefs; that the colleges must always speak in a hushed tone for fear the working class should hear them. Now, the only result of that is to create a division in the mind of the public. I admit there are certain limits in regard to that teaching. No man who has a chair as a professor, has a right to become an open propagandist of a crusade inside his class-room; but he has the right, the ordinary common right, outside his class-room to advocate anything that he likes, provided he does not break the law of conspiracy. He has the right to hold any creed that he likes, or no creed if he prefers. He has that right to freedom, and the more you try to take it away from him the more you cut down the progress of education at the root.

Sir, I feel that in coming here I could have found no more truly sympathetic audience, than the one before me. Your Club has an honoured designation. There is no name that has behind it a grander history of fair play and free speech than your name,—the Empire Club. There is no name that ought to be higher in example to those who have the honour to belong to this Association. There is no name that could make a speaker wish that he might worthily address you, more than that name that you bear; and I appeal to you by that name to-day, I appeal to the Members of the Club—whether or not they may agree with what I have said in particular things—to extend to me at least that freedom and fairness that has everywhere been the glory of the British people. (Great applause)

Sir Robert Falconer, in conveying the hearty thanks of the Club to the speaker for his wonderful address, said he was sure Professor Leacock need not fear that in coming to Toronto and addressing this Club he was stepping on dangerous ground, for whether his hearers agreed or not with the views of the speaker they certainly welcomed his very fine presentation of his theme. For himself, Sir Robert said he had rarely listened to such an outspoken and clear expression of the fundamental British virtue of freedom as it has come down to us; and he believed that what Professor Leacock had said as to the necessity in this country of realizing our individuality through the widest possible freedom would go home to the hearts of all as Canadians. Canada could not stand where she is to-day were it not that we believed that no advance was possible except so far as the individual rose to his opportunity and fulfilled his duty, whether as a citizen, or in uttering his opinions as they had been uttered to-day, or in the university class-room, or wherever it might be. That attitude was fundamentally Christion, as was a great deal of what Professor Leacock had said. What we must demand is that the world and Canada must remove obstructions to the realization of the individual by the freedom it must exercise. As Canadians and British citizens we must ask ourselves how far it was possible to go in each particular instance, in educational institutions and through legislation, to enable the individual to rise to his freedom in a Christian society; that was the whole point of the address, to his mind. While there might have been some differences of opinion, both speaker and hearers respected each other, and he was sure all agreed with the professor's expression that no progress can be possible unless in each decade we rise and realize more fully the growth of freedom in all its breadth and implications. The Kingdom of God would be realized on earth as each individual rose as a man and citizen to claim his right to serve his God by fulfilling his duty in his own place.

The audience rose and gave three cheers for the speaker of the day.

THE EUROPEAN SITUATION

AN ADDRESS BY MR. GEORGE M. WRONG, M.A., LL.D., F.R.C.S., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, March 13, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause.

PROFESSOR GEORGE M. WRONG.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am going to speak from a text. In 1805, after the Battle of Trafalgar, Pitt made a speech which produced a great impression, and in that speech he gave a phrase that has been famous ever since. It describes so exactly my own view of the place of our own country in the present crisis that some great Statesman might have used it of the situation to-day. Many of you will know my text:—

"England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example." (Applause)

In Paris last summer the *Matin* had an article in which it exhorted England to do in civil affairs what it had done in military affairs. Late in the war Great Britain had put her army under the final direction of General Foch, and then victory was assured. The *Matin* went on to say that now, in civil affairs, England should acknowledge the great

---

Mr. Wrong is professor of History in the University of Toronto. He was educated at University College, Toronto, (B.A., 1883; M.A., 1896), at Oxford University and at Berlin University; F.R.S.C., 1908. His work in the Chair of History is widely and favorably known. His books—The British Nation (1903); The Earl of Elgin (1905); A Canadian Manor (1908), etc., and his reviews of historical publications relating to Canada are worthy contributions to Canadian literature.

prescience of France, and should not be too proud to accept France's lead in settling the affairs of Europe. I rather dissent from that point of view, and therefore I want to repeat my text, that it may be duly impressed upon your minds:—"England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example."

One could draw to-day a very dark picture of affairs in Europe. A schoolboy made a "howler" which one might quote at the present moment. He said "Charles the First wanted to marry the Infant of Spain; he went to Spain to see her; and after that, as Shakespeare says, he never smiled again." One might be tempted to be like Charles the First after one saw the depths of the present misery of Europe. But I am an incorrigible optimist, and I should wish to-day not to say a word that would add to the depression which many of us are likely to feel. England has saved herself by her exertions. What has she done? She has balanced her budget—which no other great nation except the United States has done. (Applause) She has undertaken to pay her debts, and is paying interest on them meanwhile. (Applause) And thirdly, and not less important, she has saved her sense of humour. That phrase needs explanation. By a sense of humour we readily recognize incongruities, and smile at them. During the war there appeared a famous German hymn which came to be known as the "Hymn of Hate"—you all remember it. One of the finest pieces of humour that I remember in the course of the war was seen when the British soldiers in the trenches sang the Hymn of Hate, each verse ending up with a malediction on England, for the benefit of their German neighbours in the opposing trenches. I call that, Mr. Chairman, a sense of humour (laughter); and it is this sense of humour which will enable us not to take adversity too seriously, not too let gloom settle down finally upon our spirits; to realize incongruities, and out of it all find something that is hopeful and reconstructive in life.

It would do no good to try to follow the affairs of Europe from day to day, or even from month to month. What we need rather is to try to get back to causes. We have come to a terrific crisis, and are in it still. During the last 100 or 150 years the greatest thing in world-history was the growing dominance of Europe in all the continents,—a new thing. Europe came to dominate Asia and Africa and America and Australia. In America, European civilization brushed aside the native culture. The incoming European asserted his dominance over the native American and the imported African and Asiatic. To-day America in its culture is just a part of Europe, and we ourselves are Europeans and not Americans.

The cause of this wide-spread dominance of Europe is not readily apparent. My own belief—and I should not wish to over-emphasize it—is that this dominance of Europe in the world is largely due to Europe's adoption of the ideals of the Christian religion, because these ideals foster an independent type of character, and a spirit of sacrifice which enabled Europe to take the lead in all the world. After all, Europe was the only Christian continent, in the full sense of the term. But, whatever the cause, Europe led the world. Its products went everywhere. Supplying the world as it did, the population of Europe grew very rapidly, so rapidly that to-day in England there are ten people where there was one in the time of Queen Elizabeth. A consequent danger—at any rate to parts of Europe—was the same danger that has developed in China and India, of over-population.

Side by side with this growth of European influence came the recent development in Europe of Democracy. The individual man began to assert his rights in a sense in which he did not assert them in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Professor Leacock, who as an economist can speak with more authority than I, described truly to us last Thursday the appalling condition of the working classes in England after the Napoleonic wars. It is hard to believe the horrors of the working conditions for women and children in the factories. But democracy grew, education increased, with the result that standards of living improved. At first profits were great in foreign trade, but gradually, as the standard of living rose profits decreased, and by 1910 Europe was getting into difficulties in the maintenance of its markets in the far regions of the earth.

Another cause of change was facility of communication, the greatest development to-day. We now flash our thoughts instantly from one end of the world to the other and in consequence the whole world tends to think of the same things. What England was thinking, India also learned to think. The liberties claimed in Dublin were claimed next day in Calcutta and Bombay. The people of other continents began to assert the rights to liberty and self-government found in Europe and in Europe's child, America.

These were some of the things that brought about the crisis of 1914. In this crisis we find, as perhaps the most startling feature, the fall of three great Empires. Russia fell by the sheer incompetence and the isolation of its rulers. Austria fell for this and for the other reason that it includes races hating each other. Germany fell through her overweening ambition. Memoirs telling us the inner story of these Empires are coming to light day by day, and as one reads them one's wonder is that they lasted as long.

The war has done two chief things; it has shattered the political dominance of Europe in the world. Europe will not henceforth control and rule peoples outside of Europe, unless it be the backward peoples of parts of Africa. The second and the most tragic thing with which we are confronted to-day is that the war has broken down the whole system of international relations. Once it was easy to pass from one country to another. I have travelled much in Europe, and I remember only one occasion, during the last forty years, until the war, when I required to use a passport. The war has broken down commercial relations owing to the uncertain value of currency. The nations are finding it very hard to trade with each other, to fix prices and to make contracts. Since the war this has made it so difficult to carry on trade that stagnation has tended to become chronic.

In 1919 we made a peace. I should not like to say of this peace what Mr. Birrell said of the Crimean war—that the nation did the cheering, the soldiers did the dying, and nobody did the thinking. Probably the Treaty of Versailles is as good a Treaty as could have been made in view of allied public opinion at the time. It was, however, a Treaty dictated by one side—the first modern treaty, so far as I know, thus made without consulting the enemy principals. The treaty is defective. Five years of experience have shown us some of its defects and some parts of it will have to be modified.

Germany, as we all know, is in a state of financial collapse. There died two months ago the President of the Reichs Bank, Herr Havenstein. His policy for the bank was that the paper mark should always be taken in contracts at its face value. It did not matter what outside countries might think of it. The Reichs Bank would take the German mark in 1923 just as it would have taken it in 1914. I am not enough of an economist to explain to you many of the results, but let me point out one. The practice was a god-send to the debtor but it brought disaster to the creditor. Any one who owed marks was the happier the longer he could put off payment, since the mark became always cheaper. At last he could buy for a few dollars what would pay off millions. The bigger the debt the better. In days when marks counted for something, a trader could incur a heavy debt to his bank. He could with the money thus secured buy foreign exchange—pounds or dollars—and put the money where it would remain pounds or dollars. He might buy a factory, pay for it in his marks, and he had his factory. He might buy shares in an industrial company, and he had his shares. He might buy a house, and he would have his house. He might pay for all those things with borrowed marks. After six months or a year he could repay the bank with marks which at the end of 1923 cost almost nothing.

Who lost by the transaction? The debtor to the bank had his foreign currency, his factory, his house, or his shares. Who lost? Well, the foreigner who bought German marks lost. The man who took German marks for his factory lost, unless he was quick in exchanging them into something stable. Anyone who took the marks and held them lost. But the people who lost most through this German system of finance—involving the most diabolical cruelty, I suppose, that the world has ever seen—was the whole of the creditor class. To be in debt as long as you could, while the mark was going downhill, meant wealth. The losers were the people who had to take pay in marks; the plain, careful people who had saved money and bought Government loans, the prudent people who held mortgages because they seemed safe, the people who had lent good mony and could be repaid in worthless paper.

When you read in the newspapers that German profiteers are spending freely in Swiss hotels, remember how easily they got their money. Remember also at what cost to suffering women and children in Germany they secured it, because the class at whose expense they were largely enriched was the class that through long years of careful saving had put by something for their old age in the form of bonds or mortgages. The rich industrials are revelling in luxury. The saving middle class is starving.

Now glance at France. Some time ago, speaking in public, I said I thought that unless France changed her policy, it would be necessary for the entente to come to an end. Some of you may remember the old maid who gave her age at a certain figure and three years later gave it at exactly the same figure. When she was reproached she said: "Well, I am not the sort of person who says one thing today and something else to-morrow." (Laughter) Now, I should wish France to become like the old maid. Our relations with France depend entirely upon what France is going to do. If France continues in a certain course it seems to me that Great Britain and France will have to part company. But I should like to say here that the charges now being hurled against France—that she is militaristic, that she wants a war—seem to me quite devoid of foundation. France does not want war. The French people enjoy life. They love France as perhaps no other people love their native land. They have resources of enjoyment within themselves that make life sweet and delightful to them. They do not want war. What they do want is security, and they feel themselves to be in a dangerous position in Europe. They know that they have a very difficult frontier to defend, and they want to be perfectly safe.

Well, I think they have made themselves tolerably safe, from a military point of view. France is astride of Europe to-day like a military Colossus. No other power, either now or in any past time, has rivalled the present military dominance of France in Europe. But France seemed to forget two things. She has forgotten that Europe resents the military dominance of any one power. (Hear, hear) Great Britain resents this dominance. France began to think that she had better play for safety even against her chief ally, and we find her building in the West great aerodromes, the only purpose of which is to be able to attack England from the air. She is building submarines; she would not agree to limitations with respect to them; and the submarines can be directed only against the naval power of Britain. This has aroused resentment, and now we find the British Labour Government reluctantly taking steps to make Britain's power in the air equal to any menace that France may bring. At this moment we have the British fleet manoeuvring in the Mediterranean, probably to show to France that Great Britain can cut off France's communication with Africa, which, linked with France, gives her a population of a hundred million people. The policy of France has alarmed Great Britain, and Great Britain has felt it necessary to be able to say to France that she, too, is in some measure a military and naval power with which France must reckon.

The other thing that France has tended to forget is finance. She has been so anxious about her own security that she has failed to heed the warnings of British and American financiers that, unless she would follow the example of Great Britain and balance her budget and undertake to pay her debts, the day of reckoning would come in the decline of the franc. And this, alas, is what is happening now. France is on the verge of an abyss with respect to finance. Pray God she may be saved. Let us not have another collapse in Europe. But at this moment the danger is appalling. One of the most difficult things in finance is for a depreciated currency to recover the former value. The debtor class does not want such a currency to recover for this makes it harder to pay. It is going to be difficult for France to recover her credit. She must balance her budget, a difficult thing, and she must in some way reach a settlement with her creditors. Nothing else will restore her credit.

Great Britain's difficulty is, of course, in the loss of her markets. She was dependent upon the stability and prosperity of other countries, now lost. The result is that we have to-day in Great Britain about two million people unemployed. It is a dreadful word, a dreadful thing. There are tens of thousands of youths in Britain who have grown up to manhood and who never yet have had a job. They are suffering in a two-fold way: suffering in their manhood, because they are being helped by the State without earning the money; and suffering also from the lack of development in character, which downright work brings to us all.

Let us try to see what we may hope for in the near future. Germany can pay. She has got rid of her domestic debt, for she can pay it off in worthless marks. She has ruined her domestic creditors, and I do not suppose she proposes to help them in the future. Germany can take the money that should have gone to her own people, and add to it, and she can pay indemnities for the horror that she has brought on Europe. (Hear, hear, and applause) Germany can pay. France can save the franc, though it is going to be an uphill pull. What can we do? We can support constructive things. Thank God, we are safe; no enemy menaces us. Great Britain is not in danger; her fleet is in command of the seas—more completely on command of the seas, so far as Europe is concerned, than it ever was before. (Applause) We are safe. Now, what can we do? Well, we can learn some lessons from the war, and try to apply them with respect to our own daily conduct.

We must try to realize that a nation's mentality is permanent. You cannot turn Germans into Frenchmen, nor Frenchmen into Germans. Some of our enthusiasts have been trying for the last century and a half to turn French-Canadian Catholics into English Protestants (laughter) with what success we all know. Napoleon tried to carve up Europe into new nations but, the moment the controlling hand was removed, Europe fell back into its natural national divisions. We should recognize that we cannot alter the mentality of the different nations of Europe. Again, Europe will not stand a single master; Europe will not be dominated by any one power; I believe that is a permanent outlook in the mentality of Europe.

We can find some reassuring things in respect to the time. What we shall all need is patience. It took England ten years more, after Pitt spoke, to save Europe by her example, but she did it in the end. There are reassuring things. The despotic dynasties in Europe have gone. Monarchies may come back in Europe but we shall not have any more Hapsburgs or any more Romanoffs to trouble us by dynastic ambitions in respect to other states. I do not believe that even Germany is going to trouble the world again with any Hohenzollern ambitions outside of Germany. The despotic dynasties have gone. The period of privilege, in large measure, is also gone. In Great Britain last summer a Labour orator said he hoped the day would come for equal chances for the child born with a silver spoon in his mouth and one born with a pick and shovel in his mouth. (Laughter) Privilege has received something like its death-blow through the events of the last few years. The land in Europe has also in large measure been handed over to the peasant worker as owner of the land. The most stable type of society—that which we have here—is one in which an owner works his own land.

All this is encouraging. Moreover we have now a League of Nations. It is easy to deride the League of Nations. When Etna was in eruption last summer I heard a statesman say that he had not heard of any proposal to put Etna under the League of Nations. What he meant was that the politics of

Europe are a good deal like the convulsions of Etna, not to be controlled by any organization. I do not believe it; I believe that wise, patient, constructive statesmanship, expressed through the League of Nations, can work untold benefits in Europe. (Hear, hear, and applause).

Mr. Leacock said last week that he hoped he might say something to you that you would not like. I should like very much to say a lot of things to you that you would disagree with; I daresay I have said some already. I am going now to say my last word; if you disagree with me you may take it from me that you are entirely in the wrong. (Laughter) Let us learn to think of political questions in terms of light and not in terms of darkness. Let us believe that there is in man an ultimate nobility that will enable him to live on the earth in proper relations with his neighbour. (Hear, hear, and applause) Let us abolish hate from our outlook on life. (Hear, hear) When I hear some of my friends speaking of the present condition of the women and children in Germany as well deserved, because of Germany's conduct, I feel that but for the Grace of God I too might feel like that. Thank God, I do not. (Hear, hear) The time has come when serious people, who are hoping that our poor shattered world may be reconstructed on proper lines, must think in terms of light and not in terms of darkness. So I am going to leave with you as my last word a text. I began with one. I told you where the first one came from; you can find out for yourselves where the second one comes from, and this is it:

> "He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, . . . but he that hateth his brother walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes."

(Loud applause)

MR. W. G. MCWHINNEY, K.C., expressed the thanks of the Club to the speaker.

HISTORY AND LITERATURE

AN ADDRESS BY MR. GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN,

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, March 20, 1924.

Gentlemen,—From the time of Shakespeare until the memory of men still living, our ancestors, both in Great Britain and in English-speaking America, were brought up under a system of education through humane letters, the finest, as I believe, that any equally large portion of mankind has ever enjoyed. The thoughts, language and imagination of the "plain people" were soaked in the English translation of the Bible, while an an educated minority was further instructed in the history and literature of Greece and Rome. Much of what had been most valuable in the ancient Mediterranean world entered the homes and coloured the lives of our ancestors,—not only of Shakespeare and Cromwell and Milton and Chatham and Wordsworth, of Franklin and Washington and Lincoln, but of the humbler fellow-

---

Mr. Trevelyan was educated at Harrow, and Trinity College, Cambridge, and received his Litt.D. from Durham. He commanded the first British Ambulance Unit in Italy during the War and was awarded the silver medal for valor in 1915. As historian, his publications include "England in the Age of Wycliffe," "England Under the Stuarts," "Lord Grey of the Reform Bill," "British History in the Nineteenth Century," and some five volumes dealing with Garibaldi and Italy. In literature his "Poetry and Philosophy of George Meredith" holds high place.

citizens of those famous men on both sides of the Atlantic. It was a great humanizing process, and it was essentially historical. But it was an education that never dissociated history from literature. The Bible and the Classics are history and literature in one, so closely intervolved that it is impossible to say where history ends and literature begins.

This humane education, which helped to make our ancestors what they once were, has dwindled down to something very small as compared to other influences now brought to bear on the popular mind. Physical science has replaced classics as the chief study of the educated, while the mind of the "plain people," that used to be soaked in the Bible and very little else, is soaked in the voluminous journals, magazines, novels, short stories and the cinema.

The physical sciences will continue to flourish, and let us be thankful for that. But can we expect to witness another humanist renascence, another efflor-esence of spiritual and imaginative life in touch with reason and scholarship? Only, I think, in so far as we can, by taking thought, create substitutes for what we have lost.

There are many substitutes possible, and many are being attempted. In the realm of academic study the principal substitutes for the disappearing classical culture are two. First—in England and I imagine also very largely in Canada—the teaching of English language and literature (of the educational possibilities in this line my friend, Sir Henry Newbolt, has recently made himself an admirable exponent over here); and secondly, the teaching of History. If literature and history cannot hold their own, not only in numbers but in quality, then the analysis of the spiritual side of man, and the cultivation of the imaginative powers in alliance with reason and good taste will gradually be abandoned. Gresham's law will work on inexorably to its full logical conclusion and bad books will altogether expel good. That process is going on fast since the war. With the recent rise in the price of printing, good books that cannot command a very large sale are not reprinted, or else are never printed at all, while "best sellers" of indifferent value hold the field. I keep speaking of England—you are the judges how far what I say does or does not apply over here.

How and where are we to fight these dangers to our common heritage? Largely, it is clear, in the Universities. They must play the leading part in the difficult battle to keep alive in our machine-driven society some standard, some sense of value in subjects outside the physical sciences. Now the first condition for the survival of the humane studies is that we should not be ashamed of them as such. If the study either of literature or of history at the Universities is apologized for on the ground that they too are sciences, like chemistry or geology, then they are doomed. If we historians were to devote all our attention to the collection of facts and the collating of evidence and to nothing else at all, if we were to neglect the *imponderabilia*, the spiritual and human sides of life because we have no scientific scale to weigh them in (as indeed we cannot have), we should cease to attract the ablest minds of the rising generation into the army of historians. And history would cease to be read by anyone save its special students. If it is only science that is wanted, people will turn to physical scientists, who will tell them something certain and something useful. The appeal of history is different, and its utility is different. It can enthral the imagination; that is its appeal. It can educate the mind; that is its utility.

And so with literature,—which also is something more than a bundle of facts about dead languages and dead authors. The object of the academic study both of history and of literature is to make the dead live, to record the manifold adventures of the spirit of man.

History and literature, if they are going to survive, must not be ashamed of their special mission; and they must not lose touch one of the other. In the days of our grandfathers the classical education of the few and the Biblical education of the plain people was satisfying to many of the best minds of that day, because it kept history and literature in close connection. That is why the Bible and the Classics were such a great education—not yet satisfactorily replaced.

Now in our modern attempts to find substitutes for the Biblical and Classical training, it is equally necessary that literature should not lose touch with history, and that history should not lose touch with literature. Twenty years ago there was more danger in England of their losing touch with one another than there is to-day. There is now more appreciation of the fact that united they stand, divided they fall.

Those who are responsible for the teaching of English language and literature are becoming increasingly aware that they cannot teach literature apart from its historical background. To be rightly understood, Shelley and Byron are in need of the prelude of the French Revolution and the environment of the Holy Alliance. Their poems can no more be studied *in vacuo* than Milton and Chaucer themselves. The great novels of the eighteenth and nineteenth century can be only half appreciated by people entirely ignorant of the social circumstances of the time which have already become a part of history. From Homer onwards, the great works of literature in every age have been closely connected in their origin and spirit with the main religious, political, social and commercial currents of the time that gave birth to each, and these must be known to the reader before the literature of the past can be understood and appreciated to the full. The essence and higher value of literature does not indeed lie in its historical accidents, but it can not be fully understood—in some cases it can not be understood at all—except in the light of these historical accidents.

No, the study of literature cannot get along without history. But can history get along without literature? Some people think it can. I don't.

The history of mankind is a record of the heart, the soul, the mind, the customs of man, and these things have in civilized ages found their subtlest and noblest record very largely in literature. The history of any civilized age of the past must therefore include the study of its literature. The Fifteenth Idyll of Theocritus will tell you much more about Alexandria in its great age than any other document of the same length. It supplies information not to be obtained elsewhere about the social life of a Hellenistic city. To understand the age of Chaucer, the age of Queen Anne, the age of Castlereagh, we must study among other things the literature of the ages of Chaucer, of Anne, of Castlereagh. I am glad to see that historians more and more refer to the novels of Smollett, Jane Austen, Dickens and others of less note, to illustrate or to prove points regarding the social conditions and atmosphere of bygone ages.

At the head of the works of fiction that Time has thus transformed into historical evidence, stand Homer's lays. In a period of which we know otherwise almost nothing at all,—far less than we know about the England at the Conquest—Homer has rendered the daily life and thought of those far off men and women more familiar and intimate to us, than are the lives of any of our English ancestors prior to the time of Chaucer. Homer gives us a glimpse—through the blackest part of the "curtain of old night"—into chambers hung with glittering armour and rocky coasts under a burning sun. Even "if the Iliad and Odyssey were all fiction," says Professor Gilbert Murray in that most imaginative and entrancing of works, of scholarship, *The Rise of the Greek Epic.*

> "If the Iliad and Odyssey were all fiction we should still learn from them a great deal about early Greek customs, about practices of war and government, about marriage, land tenure, worship, farming, commerce, and above all, the methods of seafaring. Let anyone read thoughtfully the story which Eumaeus the swineherd tells of his life, in book XV of the Odyssey and then consider how much history of the life of the Aegean, about the seventh century B.C. he has learnt from three pages of poetical fiction."

The worst of legal and diplomatic documents, those sturdy and reliable fellows, is that they stop short at a certain point; the most human aspects of life are, as a rule, outside their ken. But Chaucer and Langland take up the wondrous tale just where the Manor Roll falls silent, and Ben Jonson where the State papers end. We value Ben Jonson to-day less for his "learned sock" than for such learning as he shares with Hogarth and Charles Dickens, the things he saw and heard in the pothouses and alleys of old London, and reproduced with an art that only the author of Falstaff could surpass. Beaumont and Fletcher's "*Knight of the Burning Pestle*" the Elizabethan "revue" which links up Aristophanes with Gilbert and Sullivan, is "of so airy and light a quality" that, considered as historical evidence, many will hold it "but a shadow shadow." And yet I think it helps to prove that the old 'prentice life of London, once contained a spirit of lyrical joy and imagination not to be found in the city life of to-day—an historical proposition which if true is of high interest.

But there is another way in which history is indissolubly bound to literature. Our modern conception of the past, as history reveals it to the student, can only be conveyed by the student to his fellow-men through the medium of literature. The historian must write a book, or enable some brother-historian to write a book—an equally noble function—unless he is to carry his learning fruitless to the grave. In this the historian differs from the scientist, whose latest discoveries can at once be applied, in war and in peace, to prevent or to spread disease, to build or to destroy cities, without the medium of literature. But history can only affect mankind by improving or by debasing the minds of men. And if the student cannot, through the writings of himself or of his brother-historians, get his ideas and discoveries set before an audience of some kind, the only person whose mind will be improved by his life's work will be himself. That is certainly something—it may even be a great deal—but I submit that it is not enough. History ought to impinge on the understanding and imagination of others beside the student himself, and for that purpose the only possible medium is literature—of which one branch consists in the art of writing history.

That branch of literature can take many forms. Some historians who are not usually called literary historians have a wonderful power of style. Not only Carlyle and Parkman, but Maitland also were great historical writers, great artists—if you like to employ the term. I had very much rather read, for sheer pleasure, Maitland's *Domesday Book*, or Professor Vinogradoff's *Growth of the Manor* than some smooth narrative of events with no stuff of the brain in it.

It is, of course, impossible to distinguish by a clear line the content of an historical work from its form of expression. The things run into each other. It is only for clearness' sake that I divide the work of the historian up into three parts:—

(1) The *collection and collation of evidence.* This part is, if you like the word, *scientific.*

(2) The *interpretation* of the results of the evidence.

(3) The *exposition of the results,* which is, if you like the word, literature.

But the *interpretation*—the part that comes in between collecting the evidence and setting out the results for the public—the interpretation does not seem to me either scientific or literary. It is just intellect, engaged in speculating about the past with the aid of a number of facts.

There are, then, roughly speaking, these three parts of the historian's work—

1. Collection of the facts (scientific).
2. Interpretation.
3. Exposition (literary).

It is impossible to give *absolutely* too much time and energy to any one of these. But it is very easy to give *relatively* too much time to one of them at the expense of one or both of the others. Twenty and thirty years ago, exposition, or the literary side, was unduly neglected and decried, by reaction against a previous state of things. Theoretically at least there is to-day a juster balance. In England historians do not any longer regard other historians as outsiders for having tried to write history with the modicum of literary art that they were able to command.

I notice one thing in England. There is a public demand for historical literature, for the interpretation of the results of historical research thrown into a literary form. The public has not the time to read mere collections of facts and interpret them for itself. Some people, indeed, still declare that the function of the historian is to throw the facts at the head of the public and leave people to make their own interpretation. But it does not work. The public, even that part of it which we call the serious reading public, has not the time to make its own interpretation of undigested masses of fact. They pass by on the other side. But they turn to books like Mr. Wells' *History of the World,* and Mr. Strachey's essays. Mr. Strachey is not a man of deep historical learning, but he is a man of letters of the first order, and so there is a large public in England that "wants" whatever he has to say about history. He is doing history a great service by connecting her again with literature and by interesting the public in her themes. But I should be sorry if those who know most about history, those who give their whole lives to the study of history, relinquished the interpretation and exposition of history entirely to novelists and to literary men who were not primarily historians.

History will always be interpreted by someone—otherwise it has no value. It would be as well to say that the results of scientific research were not to be applied to practical life, as that the results of historians' research were not to be interpreted to the public.

I have spoken several times already of the value of contemporary fiction, such as Homer, Chaucer, and the novels of the 18th and 19th century, as providing evidence of historical value with regard to the life of the times in which the authors lived. Such novels have become historical by the process of time, but they were not historical novels when they were written. I should now like to say a word about historical novels proper; they have, of course, no value at all as historical evidence, yet they stand in an important relation to history. Historical novels proper are works of fiction composed by modern authors in an attempt to imagine past ages which the authors themselves never saw. I should like to say a word about them, and especially about the king and father of them all, Sir Walter Scott.

A hundred years or more ago, Scott by his antiquarian lays and novels revolutionized history. Born in 1771, he found history, in his boyhood, composed of two elements distinctive of 18th century thought: first, the patient antiquarianism that was laying the foundations of history proper, and secondly, a habit of sententious generalization which, though much in advance of the wholly unphilosophic historical gossip of preceding ages, missed a number of the most important points for want of sympathy and experience. "The age of common sense" had forgotten, among other things, what a revolutionist or a religious fanatic was really like.

This form of the historical art, with its sound antiquarianism and its superficial analysis, was already moribund, having reached perfection under the hands of Gibbon. For within its narrow limits something like perfection was possible to this kind of history, and perfection cannot grow. No one could improve on Pope, so poetry stood still for fifty years, till Wordsworth gave it "another heart and other pulses." History had not so long to wait. For Scott followed on Gibbon so soon as to leave history no time to dawdle and decay, perched on the height where the great master had set it. Gibbon had traced in his cold, clear outline, the procession of fourteen calamitous centuries, that move past us with slow and stately pace, each as like to the one that it follows as are the figures in the frieze of the Parthenon. That was how Scott found history; he left it what it has been ever since, an eager aspiration, destined to perpetual change, doomed to everlasting imperfection, but living, complex, broad as humanity itself. To the calm eye of Gibbon mankind remained from the age of the Antonines to the age of Rienzi, essentially the same, divided up in each succeeding era into a number of formulae,—the magistrates, the philosophers, the priests, the nobles, the plebeians, the Barbarians,—each class retaining the same generalized character throughout the piece. It was Sir Walter Scott who first showed us how not only clothes and weapons, but thought and morals vary according to the period, the province, the class, the man. To him the pageant of history was more like a Walpurgis night than a Parthenon procession. His Shakespearean wealth of imagination and breadth of sympathy, furnished with ever fresh material from the mine of his antiquarian researches, answered more truly than Gibbon's classicism to the wild variety of nature, for ever making and breaking new types of men and things.

The most famous lines of the poetry of Scott's own era, though I daresay Sir Walter thought them sad stuff, read like an aetherialized version of his own view of history:—

> "Worlds on worlds are rolling ever
>   From creation to decay,
> Like the bubbles on a river,
>   Sparkling, bursting, borne away.
>   But they are still immortal
>   Who, through birth's Orient portal
> And death's dark chasm hurrying to and fro,
>   Clothe their unceasing flight
>   In the brief dust and light
> Gathered around their chariots as they go.
>   New shapes they still may weave,
>   New Gods, new laws, receive:
> Bright or dim are they, as the robes they last
>   On death's bare ribs have cast."

Not only poets but historians who came after Scott thought quite differently about the past from those who came before him. Macaulay, when he and the century were each twenty-eight years old, wrote an essay on *History* (now printed in his Miscellaneous Works). The young essayist there sketched out the kind of history which he already aspired to write, and actually wrote twenty years later. He says: "Sir Walter Scott has used those fragments of truth which historians have scornfully thrown behind them. But a truly great historian would reclaim those materials which the novelist has appropriated." Now, if you will look to see what the 18th century historians Hume, Robertson and Gibbon lack, you will see at once how very large are the "fragments of truth" that even the greatest historians "threw behind them" before Scott taught them better. Everything that is intimate, everything that is passionate, everything also that is of trivial or daily occurrence, all the colour and all the infinite variety of the past.

Ivanhoe is less like the Middle Ages than Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill*, because in Scott's day less was known about the period. But *Ivanhoe* was the greatest single step towards opening out the Middle Ages to modern conception; for it was the first attempt to envisage our distant ancestors as human beings at all.

It is not merely the "truly great historian," but the middle-sized and small historians whose sphere has been enlarged by the pioneer work and infectious example of Scott. But the great ones no doubt profited most. To use Browning's words, Scott "fished the murex up," so that Carlyle outdid Macaulay in "azure feats." "Both gorged," but Scott himself, we all rejoice to remember, managed to "eat turtle" for awhile.

Over and above his influence upon historians proper, Scott founded a school of historical novelists who have done much and are still doing much to render history interesting to the public. They are the light horse of the historical army. Thackeray's *Esmond,* Kingsley's *Westward Ho,* Stevenson's eighteenth century tales, and Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* are the masterpieces of the art. And much good work has been done by Charlotte Yonge, Charles Reade, Mr. Stanley Weyman, Mr. Winston Churchill, author of the *Crisis,* and Mr. John Buchan, who is good almost in exact proportion as he leaves sensationalism and turns to history,—witness his best and least popular work: "*The Path of the King.*"

In our own day a new branch is being added to historical fiction: the modern chronicle drama. Mr. Hardy's *Dynasts* and Mr. Drinkwater's plays are both of them very different in many respects from Shakespeare's chronicle plays of English and Roman history. But the only difference with which I am now concerned is this, that the interest and attraction of Mr. Hardy's and Mr. Drinkwater's plays lies mainly in their degree of historical truth. Something like the real scenes and people of the Napoleonic period are presented to us by Mr. Hardy in a poetical dress, something like the real Lincoln and Lee are presented in a more realistic dress by Mr. Drinkwater. That is why we want to read or see their plays. The interest, in short, is mainly historical, the imaginative appeal which they make is related to the supposed degree of their actual truth to fact. If we thought they had no relation to historical truth we should not trouble to read them or see them acted. But Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and *Julius Caesar* would please us only a little less if their personages were as fictitious as those of *Hamlet.*

After this excursus on historical fiction, I return to the subject of history proper.

I am not one of those who undervalue research. It is the basis of all history worthy of the name. I am strongly in favour of more provision for research at our British Universities, and more leisure for the lecturers to do original work. Research is ill provided for at all our British seats of learning, and in some it is insufficiently honoured.

But when the research is done, what use are you going to make of it? It is not an end in itself.

The use of history is to train the minds of men by a just contemplation of the past. History cannot prophesy the future; it cannot deduce laws of universal applicability. The story of man and the variation of his circumstances from age to age and from place to place is too complicated to allow of the deduction of such laws. Indeed the study of history has often disproved the universal applicability of supposed laws laid down by political or other theorists with an insufficient range of observation. History does not provide a series of short cuts for modern statesmen, though it may possibly hint that some types of short cut often lead into an ambush. History does not deal in tips or in prophecies. But it trains the minds of men through the contemplation of past events. Such is one part of its utility. Another part is the high intellectual pleasure that it gives. But that I will call its appeal rather than its utility.

Its appeal is pure intellectual curiosity about the past of mankind. Disinterested intellectual curiosity is the life-blood of real civilization. History is one of its best forms. And at bottom, I think, the appeal of history is largely imaginative. Our imagination craves to behold our ancestors as they really were, going about their daily business and daily pleasure in the past. Carlyle called the antiquarian or historical researcher "Dryasdust." Dryasdust at bottom is a poet. His most difficult problem is how to express to his neighbour the poetry he finds for himself in the muniment room. But the main impulse of his own life is the desire to feel the reality of life in the past, to be familiar with "the chronicle of wasted time" for the sake of "ladies dead and lovely knights"—if it were only by discovering the nature of the "lovely knights'" fees.

Scott began life as Dryasdust—as an antiquarian—because that way he could find most poetry, most romance. Carlyle, like every great historian, was his own Dryasdust. Indeed he is really the greatest defender of Dryasdust in the whole field of literature. He declared, with a striking exaggeration, that the smallest real fact about the past of man that Dryasdust could unearth was more poetical than all Shelley and more romantic than all Scott.

> "Consider," he writes, "all that lies in that one word *Past!* What a pathetic, sacred, in every sense *poetic*, meaning is implied in it; a meaning growing ever the clearer, the farther we recede in time—the more of that same Past we have to look through! History after all is the true poetry. And Reality, if rightly interpreted, is grander than Fiction."

Intellectually, of course, everyone would always admit that the past was real—with the exception of a few metaphysicians who might claim to reserve judgment on the point. But to admit the truth of the proposition is not always to feel it as a living fact. It is the detailed study of history that makes us feel that the past was as real as the present; that is the attracting pleasure of this study, which inspires us to scorn delights and live laborious days.

The world supposes that we historians are absorbed in the dusty records of the dead; that we can see nothing save—

> "The lost-to-light ghosts, grey-mailed,
> As you see the grey river-mist
> Hold shapes on the yonder bank."

But to us, as we read, they take form, colour, gesture, passion, thought. It is only by study that we can see our forerunners, remote and recent, in their habits as they lived, intent each on the business of a long-vanished day, riding out to do homage or to poll a vote; to seize a neighbour's manor house and carry off his ward, or to leave cards on ladies in crinolines.

And there in the field, generation after generation, is the ploughman behind the oxen, the horses, the machine, and his wife busy all day in the cottage, waiting for him with her daily accumulated budget of evening news.

Each one, gentle and simple, in his commonest goings and comings, was ruled by a complicated and ever-shifting fabric of custom and law, society and politics, events at home and abroad, some of them little known by him and less understood. Our effort is not only to get what few glimpses we can of his intimate personality, but to reconstruct the whole fabric of each passing age, and see how it affected him; to get to know more in some respects than the dweller in the past himself knew about the conditions that enveloped and controlled his life.

There is nothing that more divides civilized from semi-savage man than to be conscious of our forefathers as they really were, and bit by bit to reconstruct the mosaic of the long-forgotten past. To weigh the stars, or to make ships sail below the sea, is not a more astonishing and ennobling performance on the part of the human race in these latter days, than to know the course of events that had been long forgotten, and the true nature of men and women who were here before us.

Truth is the criterion of historical study; but its impelling motive is poetic. Its poetry consists in its being true. There we find the synthesis of the scientific and literary views of history.

THOMAS HARDY, THE NOVELIST

AN ADDRESS BY SIR BERTRAM WINDLE, KT.,
PROFESSOR IN ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE; LECTURER
IN UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
March 27, 1924.*

PRESIDENT BROOKS, before introducing the speaker, referred to the death, yesterday morning of Sir Edmund Walker, who had been a very active and interested member of the Club, a great Empire man, whose passing would be felt intensely by the whole Dominion of Canada. He then introduced the speaker of the day as an old friend of the Club, who was now one of ourselves.

SIR BERTRAM WINDLE.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Hamlet the statement that the players are "the abstract and brief chronicles of the time." That, I dare say, they were at that date; there were no memoirs worth speaking of; there were no novels, practically; the stage was perhaps the only thing which could give a view of life as it was and as it had been. That state of affairs passed away. We may console ourselves, I hope, by thinking that 500 years hence people will not sum us up—

Sir Bertram Windle is professor in St. Michael's College and lecturer in the University of Toronto. A brilliant scholar, he has from Dublin, the degrees, M.A., M.D., and D.Sc., with high honours; from Birmingham, M.Sc., and LL.D., and from Rome, Ph.D. He was Commissioner of Intermediate Education for Ireland and an examiner in six of the great British Universities. He is the author of books on history, literature, archæology, science and morals and is a contributor of scientific papers and articles to various magazines.

I hope they won't—by the drama of the last 25 years —(laughter)—and particularly the latter part of that 25 years, perhaps. But the place of the dramatist as the "abstract and brief chronicle of the time" has, to my mind, been taken by the novelist; and that is the first point I want to make.

If you want to study history, about the worst book that you can study it in is an ordinary history if you really want to get at the meaning of history. And after all, history ought to mean something more than a dreary succession of sometimes uninteresting and sometimes disgraceful and unedifying monarchs, their prime ministers, their wars, their amours, and other things of that kind. That is not history. What a student of history wants to know, at least what I want to know, is what people like myself at a certain period which I want to study were thinking and doing; that is real history. (Applause)

There is an old book, a very interesting one, which I suppose is out of vogue now; that is the "New Republic" by W. H. Mallock, who died the other day; full of acute sayings. In it, at a dinner party conversation there is a lady who says to the gentleman beside her that she hates history. "Why," he says, "I saw you reading the 'Memoirs of Count deGrammont the other night.'" She replied, "Very well, but you don't call that history?" He says, "Certainly it is history." And so it is. If you want to know how people lived in the 18th century, it is better to go to the novels by Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, or to Thackeray who knew it because he had been saturated in it, or to Swift's "Letters to Stella," or Horace Walpole. There you find how people really lived; you will see there the springs of conduct in many places. From that foundation it is possible to build up a considerable amount of history, and you are led on to want to know something more.

I don't know whether I could do it now, but there was a time when I could have written down all the military movements at the Battle of Waterloo, and certainly all those of Quebec, and I was entirely led on to this by Thackeray's novels. After reading "Vanity Fair" I wanted to know what actually did happen at Waterloo. After reading "The Virginians" I wanted to know what did happen at Quebec. I never thought then that I would have the opportunity, as I have had since, of scrambling up that narrow path where Wolfe and his men fought perhaps the most decisive battle of the whole world—the battle which, amongst other things, rendered the United States a possibility; and that, I think, is possibly one of the most significant facts of history, certainly of later history. So I say that the intelligent study of this kind of novel will lead up to a knowledge of the best kind of history.

Now I come to my specific example in the shape of Thomas Hardy. The Hardy family is seated in Dorsetshire. They are derived from a certain Sieur de Hardy, who came over from Jersey I suppose 200 or 250 years ago; and he had two very distinguished descendents. Mr. Hardy told me once that he could not trace any absolute connection with the other Thomas Hardy—by whom I mean the captain of the "Victory," who left his little house at Frensham to sail the "Victory" and Nelson to death and victory; the man to whom Nelson said, "Kiss me, Hardy." He was one of the descendents of that Sieur de Hardy who first came from Jersey to found the clan in Dorsetshire. Thomas, the novelist, is another.

Thomas Hardy, the novelist, was born in a tiny little thatched cottage in the woods, ten or twelve miles from Dorchester, which I have often seen; and when I was writing a book about his Dorsetshire, Thomas Hardy's mother was still alive—she lived to be 91, if I remember right—and Thomas Hardy himself is now in his 84th year. The first time I ever saw him, and we were talking over this book I was going to write, he said, "There is just one place of which I will ask you not to tell the world the name, and that is the little place where my mother lives; I don't want her bothered with people going to look at the cottage," so of course the name does not appear. Now, that cottage is close by the schoolhouse over which there hangs a huge tree, and it is the scene of the story "Under the Greenwood Tree," which to a very large extent is the autobiography of Hardy himself.

Thomas Hardy's father was what is called a trenter—you have not that term here. A trenter is a country express man, hauling furniture or goods from one place to another. The father was also a builder, and perhaps that accounts for the fact that Hardy, the son, was trained as an architect.

It is to a curious coincidence in connection with the name of that book that Hardy really owes his success. The first novel that he issued was a thing called "Desperate Remedies." I suppose I am one of the few that has ever read it, and I do not want to read it a second time; it was a flat failure, and deserved to be; it hardly shows anywhere a sign of the genius which Hardy had. The next book that he wrote was "Under the Greenwood Tree," which at first made no very great success; but at that time there was a very well-known writer—I remember him as a noted journalist when I was a boy—whose name was Greenwood. He was the man who invented that system of journalism which may be summed up in this way: If you want to write an article about something, go and do it; go through with it. He dressed in rags, and went to the different tramp wards in London—"Casual wards" as they are called —and he wrote a series of articles on them signed "Amateur Casual," which articles made a great stir. They were the first things of the kind, where a man went and lived through a certain phase of life in order to write about it. Now, this Mr. Greenwood, when starting on a journey, saw his name on a book at a railway book-stall, bought the book, was greatly taken with it, and wrote a very strong article in favour of it; and thus Hardy's reputation was made. (Laughter) I am not going to claim that it rests on the fact that he had the name "Greenwood" in the book, but it was an accident that gave a sudden impetus to his work.

Hardy began life as an architect, and his first success was obtaining the Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of Architects for the annual student essay. The subject was "On the Use of Terra Cotta in architecture." If I had to write an article on that subject it would be compressed into one word—"Don't." (Laughter) Hardy, however, never seems to have done much in the architectural line. I don't know that he ever built anything except his own comfortable house, which I fear has terra cotta about it. However, the architect occasionally peeps out of his books. There is one very curious passage in which he is talking about a very pretty girl, and wants to make it plain that she had a very beautiful mouth, and he says, "Her mouth was of that exquisite curve which is termed the cyma recta, or the 'Ogee arch.'" (Laughter) I do not know whether I have any architects amongst my hearers, but I am quite sure that nobody else in this room knows what a cyma recta is; and I am sure that if most young men told their adored ones that they had cyma recta mouths it might lead to trouble. (Laughter) Of course it really means what a more literal novel-writer would call "Cupid's Bow"; that is what the Ogee arch is; but I suppose no one but a literary architect ever applied such a term to a pretty girl's mouth. (Laughter)

Of course it was whilst living in this little cottage that Hardy obtained the immense knowledge of woodland life which you find in "The Woodlanders," one of the best of his novels, some think the best, though I do not. Of course what is called "lumber" over here does not occur in England at all; the timber is not of a size to be suitable for that, and a good deal of what Hardy speaks of in that book is what we should call reforesting—the planting of young trees and caring for them. In his topography Hardy is extremely accurate; so accurate and complete are his descriptions that you can go about from place to place and see the exact spot that he meant.

It was of course during this time that he acquired the wonderful knowledge of country life. And there I am coming back to what I started with, because I believe that in another hundred years Hardy's novels will be the most valuable documents of a kind of life that by that time will have entirely disappeared—the life of the peasant who had nothing but a plow and a horse to drag it; long before there were tractors or railways. As showing how conservative that population is, I used to have a house on the edge of the Cotswold Hills, six miles from a railway station, and I knew quite a few old people there who had never seen a railway train. That is a type of life, of course, that is going, and people a hundred years from now will know of it only through the novels of Thomas Hardy and similar ones, just as we can absolutely enter into the early Victorian life of the country by reading Jane Austen's novels, but not from the pages of any history. They will get it out of books like "The Return of the Native" and "Far from the Madding Crowd."

There is a curious and interesting story about "Far from the Madding Crowd." I remember it coming out in one of the periodicals that was edited for a time by Charles Dickens. It had no name attached to it, and many critics asserted in print that it was written by "George Eliot" anonymously, with the view of seeing whether her reputation was keeping up. Now there is a curious turn of the wheel of fate, for I suppose no one reads George Eliot now—very few, certainly, although a certain number of her works are quite worth reading, particularly "Scenes in Clerical Life." But Hardy is the star in the ascendent; and yet he was so unknown at that time that no one could have imagined that he had written this story. At least the critics did not, though they are supposed to have more prescience than other people.

I take next the book which to my mind gives an extraordinarily vivid and interesting picture of an extremely interesting epoch in English history. That is "The Trumpet Major," which centres around Weymouth, a most attractive Georgian town. It is curious that its real name is not Weymouth, but Melcombe Regis. It was a very attractive and good-sized place until Portland nearby became the naval centre, and became overbuilt, and is now overcrowded. George the Third used to go down there, and he made the place, just as Charles the Second made Tunbridge Wells. It was a critical area prior to the Battle of Trafalgar. It was there that Napoleon intended to land his troops. He had an immense flotilla of flat-bottomed boats moored at Boulogne or on the coast of France. He said to Villeneuve, "Give me twenty-four hours clear channel, and I will take England." There was another would-be military leader who recently wanted the same thing, but never got it. (Applause) Napoleon never got it, though if he had got twenty-four hours clear channel he would have had England, without a doubt; for he had the force, he had the boats, and everything was ready. But Nelson stood between him and that.

Not a very great distance from Weymouth there is a little circular bay called Lulworth Bay. It has a lot of history about it. There is an old standing tradition that Napoleon himself was rowed over one night and landed in Lulworth Harbour to see if that would be a good place to land his men. Whether that is true or not, I cannot vouch; it certainly is quite feasible, but that is the tale; and the countryside was all prepared for this invasion. In "The Trumpet Major" you will see a printed notice purporting to give instructions to the people as to just exactly what they were to do if the French troops landed. It is simply a copy of the old notice itself which is hanging in the Dorchester museum. In the town a little above Weymouth there was a huge equestrian figure of George the Third cut out of the chalk, like a white horse, cut by the German legion which was encamped there, as you read in "The Trumpet Major." A wonderful piece of work it is, considering the curved surface they had to cut it on. Right down from that is the little village in which the scenes of "The Trumpet Major" took place, and the identical pool where the men of the legion came down to water their horses, as you will read in the early part of that book. In it you find the agonized state of the whole countryside in regard to the French people and their possible invasion, and the preparation of bon-fires that were ready to be lighted as signals. You do not get that kind of thing in history. The book will tell you how Napoleon was preparing to fall on the coast of England, and you will see how the people treated it, how the yokels were drilled every Sunday after morning service, with pikes and any kind of things they could get hold of. They were all to get out to repulse this army if it was once towed over, which it certainly would have been if Napoleon had got what he wanted, that was, a clear channel for twenty-four hours, which he never did get. (Applause)

Hardy again gives us a wonderful picture of life in a small town. You know, his Wiltshire goes into Cornwall a little bit—a part of Dorset, part of Wilts, and part of Hants—a district without any large towns. Salisbury itself has about 16,000 people, and Winchester has about 8,000. They are tiny little places. Dorchester was an old Roman city; the lines of the walls are represented now by the avenues of trees around it. Hardy's name, "Casterbridge," is intended to indicate its Roman origin. It is an interesting, quiet little place that had its excitement in times gone by. One of the parts of the "Bloody Assize" at which Judge Jeffries presided was held there; the other part was held in Somerset, and quite a number of people were condemned to death and cut to pieces. That was, of course, after the Monmouth Insurrection. That quiet life was disturbed from time to time by such occurrences as are described in "The Withered Arm." Dorchester is a county town; it is the place where the Assizes were held; it is the place, when there is a murderer to be hanged, that he is hanged.

In the period of which Hardy writes, capital punishment was a very common thing in England. You know, the bell in Sepulchre Church used to toll every Monday morning in London from five minutes to eight until eight for the people who were to be executed at Newgate at that hour, and there were always some to be executed; sometimes ten or twelve or more, and many of them not much more than boys and girls, for some minor petty larceny—punished by capital punishment. That is what took place also, even in little places like Dorchester.

There is a great big old Roman amphitheatre where the Roman troops of the city which preceded Dorchester used to have their athletic contests, which was the scene of those executions. I believe the last time it was used was when a woman was hanged there for poisoning her husband with arsenic, and the place held 10,000 people who came from all round to see her executed. Of course after that, until the recent acts which provided for private executions, they were executed over the great doors of the jail. You can see the place there where the platform was erected. There was no such thing in those days as the long drop; people literally did hang by the neck until they were dead, and it often took ten or fifteen minutes, and if they were slight, light people, their relatives would pay the executioner to pull on their ankles and get it over a little sooner. It was a grim thing. In the museum in Dorchester, which contains a great many relics of the place as it was, you can see two large chunks of lead, and on top of each of those is cast the word "Mercy." Those are what were tied to the ankles of the slender people, and the "mercy" was to get it over sooner. There was so much of this that there was a hangman's house, and it is still there in Dorchester. You can see the official house in which the hangman of Dorchester lived—a place of 8,000 population that could maintain a man who did nothing but hang. Of course he was the kind of person whom nobody wanted to employ in any other line of life. You get the story of that in "The Withered Arm," a piece of very old folklore in Dorchester and elsewhere. If you have a withered, paralyzed arm, and can stroke it with the rope that a man was hanged with, particularly the part that was around his neck, the result is likely to be beneficial. That is not a part of modern therapeutics, of course, but that is the old idea. There is the house about which this thing was told.

Now I have indicated to you where I think a people in time to come will find their social history—very largely in the works of Thomas Hardy and men of his kind; but particularly in Hardy's works, because he knows Dorset from the inside, as one of its people, and knows exactly the kind of life they lived. The old church choir, that was gone before I was a boy, had a clarionette and fiddle and other things that used to be up in the gallery. Hardy has it all there for you, and I have seen in various places the old instruments those people used to play in the church gallery—harp or bassoon, things of that kind. It promoted solidarity between the clergy and the laity that I do not think exists now. Those people considered themselves a part, and they were a considerable part, of the ceremonies, and they took a great deal of pains in practising. They made their mark particularly, I suppose, at Christmas, by singing carols and so on.

As to Hardy himself, I would select two or three points about him and his methods, apart altogether from his value to history. Of course no one can read Hardy's books without seeing that, to put it mildly, he is a pessimist. I think that is part of his books and of nearly all his articles. I never ventured to ask himself if he really entertained the views which he puts forward here and there in his books—that human beings are the sport of a deity or deities who only have them as performing mice, so to speak. If that is his view, I do not wonder that he is pessimistic; it is the kind of philosophy that would encourage the pessimistic spirit. However, that is the thing that strikes you all through; that, and perhaps I may suggest the extraordinarily inconstant character of all his heroines, illustrating the motto, "Woman is always variable." Hardy's woman is that. She is very attractive. There was a very distinguished man who read a great many novels, as I do myself, who said that it should be illegal to end a novel otherwise than well, and that there should always be in every one of them at least one girl with whom you could fall in love. (Laughter) Who said that? I will give you three guesses. It was Charles Darwin, the last man in the world you could guess (laughter) that would want anybody to fall in love with, except his wife, let alone one in every novel.

Now, Hardy has that. It is not a question of **your** falling in love with her; it is a question of how many people will fall in love, the one with the other. Take the "Trumpet Major"; the heroine in that is never sure whether she is going to marry the soldier or sailor. She plumps for blue water finally, but it was a mere accident (laughter) and as to the pair of blue eyes, it is difficult to say how many men that young lady was on and off with before she returned—as an ironic touch—in the coffin, with two of them, unaware of her death, coming to see which one of them would succeed in securing her hand. The Hardy man also has sometimes that inconstant touch. You find such an one in "The Well-beloved," which was to have been a short story, but it was expanded into a book and became, to my mind, almost absurd; but there you have the corresponding man, the man who does not know his mind. You may take another character of the same kind in "A Laodicean," who after all was a most miserable creature; and perhaps also "Clem," a character in "The Return of the Native," although he is a little better. But Hardy has splendid men characters. I do not suppose there is a better picture of the really solid hard-working English farmer than "Gabriel Oak," and it is a picture that I recognize because I have known many men of that kind, the real old farmer, very often perhaps owning his farm, but at any rate men whose ancestors had probably farmed the same piece of land for 100, 200 or 300 years. That type of man is passing now, and future generations will know of him only from books like that. It is through these things, as I think, that the real greatness of Hardy will emerge. I am sure he will last, because his style, of its kind, is almost perfect.

Somebody once made a very astute remark about Thackeray and Meredith—"Thackeray has style, and Meredith has a style." If you compare the two men's books, that is perfectly true. Now, Hardy has style, and he has not only got style but he has got substance, and he has got the materials which will be the book from which the social historian of a hundred years or more to come will be able to draw what he wants when he is trying to explain to the people then how the rural population of England lived in the 18th century and during the first half, at any rate, of the 19th. (Loud applause)

President Brooks expressed the thanks of the Club to the speaker for giving, at such short notice, so delightful a glimpse of the real home life of the people of the while-ago in the Old Land.

CULTURING CANADIAN PATRIOTISM

AN ADDRESS BY REV. R. P. BOWLES, M.A., D.D., LL.D., CHANCELLOR VICTORIA UNIVERSITY.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, April 3, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who received a warm welcome.

CHANCELLOR BOWLES

Mr. President,—I am very grateful to you for your kind words in presenting me to the Empire Club. I am thankful to the members of the Club for the opportunity they have given me of taking a place in the list of very great and worthy speakers who have at different times addressed them. It has been my privilege frequently to listen to them, and I am a little oppressed, and perhaps depressed, when I think of the high standard lived up to in the addresses to which they have had the privilege of listening. Moreover, to-day, I am to talk about what really is a sentiment, and I am conscious of the fact that I am talking to business men with a pronounced Anglo-Saxon strain and British predilections. I know that such never like either to talk, or to hear anybody else talk, about their sentiments. I know that they are not hard and prosaic—they are rich in emotions, but are not given to talking about them. Over in England now, in the Universities, they debate the value of rhetoric. I have noticed that they have de-

---

Chancellor Bowles was born at Mono Road near Brampton, Ontario, and educated at Brampton High School and Victoria University, (B.A., with honours, 1885; M.A., 1888; B.D., 1888). After filling several minor charges he became pastor of Sherbourne Street Church, Toronto, 1896; passing thence to the Metropolitan Church, Toronto; to Grace Church, Winnipeg; and back to Sherbourne Street Church, Toronto, in 1905. In this year he was appointed professor of homiletics in Victoria College and became Chancellor of his Alma Mater.

nounced it as the language of emotion. That I think it is to be regretted. In the nature of things all our great sentiments find expression in other ways than mere words. I believe it would be easier to talk about Canadian material resources. It is not difficult to talk about problems of racial and geographical origin, or the constitution, or history, or the much-debated question of "Status." It is much easier to talk about these subjects than it is to talk about such an elusive thing as the sentiment, which I am to present to you.

And yet no man ever yet was ashamed of his patriotic feelings; while there may be some sentiments that are uttered shamefacedly, this is one that no man can tolerate to hear "damned with faint praise." There is nothing to be gained by submitting it to the expert diagnosis of psychologists, and having it classified with mass or mob psychology. We know it is the only thing that keeps the citizens of any nation together and protects them from disloyalty to their own highest interests. Too often, unfortunately, folks talk too loudly, too flamboyantly of patriotism. It has on this continent produced a most expansive and specious type of oratory, which may be an offence, not only to good taste but to neighbourliness. In that respect we are not, I judge, the chief of sinners. Inasmuch, however, as such forms of speech are the accompaniment of youth rather than of age, we do well to be disposed to restraint. It is good to be young if you are not too young. Patriotism is a sentiment as noble as it is natural, which is saying something; for the love of country and loyalty to its interests and common institutions is so natural that it springs up in all lands and among all races of people. Its absence is the sign of a spiritless people. I have no appreciation whatever of cold and critical analysis which reduces it to any form of mob-passion. It is the reverse of that—it is the one thing that saves a people from being a leaderless mob. Patriotism is a natural instinct, as natural as the love of home or loyalty to college or church or any common and social interest.

It is of the culture of Canadian Patriotism I am to speak, and the accent falls strongly on "Canadian." The fact that it is interwoven with a love of the home land of one's fathers, and has also interwoven into itself the love of empire, it is the more interesting to ourselves although a mystery to outsiders. I deal, however, not with this wonderful synthesis of sentiment which to the uninitiated seems impossible —logically absurd, destined to break up and pass away—but the one simple, elemental love and loyalty and devotion to this land of the Maple, this King's Dominions over the seas, this nation, this—I care not what they call it—these nine millions of folks who are combining themselves together in a common national bond and setting their faces to some common destiny to be wrought between two peoples on the northern half of a continent. (Applause)

To me it is unimaginable that there should not manifest itself among us a great and wonderful love of country. There is no need for exhortation. We have not to create something. It is here upspringing in the hearts of the younger generation beyond what was dreamt of by their fathers. Strange indeed it would be if to the people of this country there could be no guiding ideals which, while restraining would also develop and enrich this natural love of country and loyalty to King and Country. This sentiment is something born within us, which is one of the natural results of our environment.

Let me say that there was not very much done in my school days that would help us young Canadian citizens of forty and fifty years ago to find our Canadian souls. We were left pretty much to ourselves. The church did not help us very much. I believe I have an uncanny memory for sermons. (Laughter) It is amazing to me to look back to those days and remember the sermons. But do my best, however, I cannot recall a single one that was devoted to the end of helping me to realize as a young man what I owed to this country. I can recall plenty of sermons addressed to me as a miserable sinner, which no doubt I was. (Laughter) There was nothing in those sermons, however, which tended to arouse the instincts and sentiments of love for one's country. Even in the prayers there was no mention of the King. One thing I could tell, though, was the strain of politics which underlay some of those sermons (laughter) ; and if, in addition, mention was made of the Royal Family, I knew that the congregation was composed chiefly of good Orangemen. (Laughter)

Canada's history is largely pioneer history. There is no doubt about that. Our history really began in the backwoods settlements, in the log cabin, in the log school-houses, and in the log churches. I hope we will never forget that. I have a profound contempt for anyone who wants to forget it. (Applause). Patient endurance, undaunted courage, immeasurable toil, never excelled in the history of any people, through these our pioneer fathers laid foundations that make this country what it is. (Applause) And we, to-day, are reaping the benefits of those terrible struggles and privations, of our fathers. Some people might think that the picture of pioneer life is crude and sordid, compared with the elegancies of the present day, but it is a picture of the realities of life endured for the sake of the present generation. Sordid! Well, there was something sordid about Flanders Fields, but it had a meaning. So had those wonderful achievements of our fathers, a meaning which makes their commonplaceness wonderful and transfigures their outward nearness.

I was not brought up on the Arabian Nights' stories. Other stories filled my imagination when I was a lad. I loved them. I loved to hear of the stories told of my grandfather. He came to Muddy York in 1826. He came from Tipperary. (Laughter and applause). No doubt my grandfather thought it was a long way, because it took him about three months to get over. He never called this place anything else but Muddy York. Building chimneys he had earned and saved about $126, when one day he met a man who would sell him a farm. My grandfather bought it. He never saw it until he arrived there. He bought also a yoke of oxen and a sled and went into the wilds, thirty-two miles north of here. He worked hard, very hard, as all the old pioneers did in those days. I used to like to get my grandmother to tell me some of the stories about their early struggles. She would tell me of their life long ago, how they built their little shanty, and how they carried water from a little spring nearly half a mile away, and how she carried on her back from the mill, four miles away, a bag of meal which helped to sustain them through the long winter months. She used to tell me stories of wolves and bears which roamed the woods. These stories were all very real to me, and gave me an insight into the realities of life endured by the early pioneers.

Those early pioneering days of our fathers ought to be an inspiration to us. They lived very close to Nature, and were hard-working, God-fearing men and women. They were happy, too, in their little log shanties. Of amusements, as we know them to-day, there were practically none. Speaking of hard work I remember a story told of a neighbour of ours who used to go out in the moonlight and work in the woods chopping at night the side of the log on which the moon beams fell so that he would have less work to do the next day. That was daylight saving, was it not? I know that even to-day work in the factories and on the farms is very often hard and laborious, but compared with the immeasurable toil endured in those days it is child's play. We ought to be proud of our ancestors. (Applause) They have set us an example which we would do well not to forget. They lived and laboured and loved and having served their generation they fell asleep.

Our fathers did not write their history. They were too busy bringing vast tracts of country under civilization's sway, but their story is a theme worthy to be glorified in the nation's literature. I hope to see it written some day. No one has really done it yet—that is, no one has ever done it justice. And what wonderful literature it would be, stimulating us to nobler things! I do not care whether a Canadian writes it or not, although I should like if it were. There is so much that can be said. I would like to see all the finer meanings brought out for the culturing of to-day's patriotism. There was not very much to help me as a boy to understand the real significance of it all. I remember there were selections from Mrs. Moodie's "Roughing it in the Bush." There were some selections of which I have some recollection. There was the story of the Indian woman who slew the bear. You remember that. Those stories appealed to us youngsters. There were other sketches, and some poetry, too, which appealed to my youthful imagination. Take this, on the life of the backwoodsman, as an inspiring example:—

THE BACKWOODSMAN.

Son of the Isles! Rave not to me
Of the world's pride and luxury;
Why did you cross the Western deep,
Thus like a love-lorn maid to weep
O'er comforts gone and pleasures fled,
'Mid forests wild to earn your bread?

Did you expect that Art would vie
With Nature here, to please the eye;
That stately tower, and fancy cot,
Would grace each rude concession lot;
That, independent of your hearth,
Men would admit your claims to birth?

No tyrant fetter binds the soul,
The mind of man's above control;
Necessity, that makes the slave,
Has taught the free a course more brave;
With bold, determined heart to dare
The ills that all are born to share.

Believe me, youth, the truly great
Stay not to mourn o'er fallen state;
They make their wants and wishes less,
And rise superior to distress;
The glebe they break—the sheaf they bind—
But elevates a noble mind.

Contented in my rugged cot
Your lordly towers I envy not;
Though rude our clime and course our cheer,
True independence greets you here;
Amid these forests, dark and wild,
Dwells honest labour's hardy child.

His happy lot I gladly share,
And breathe a purer, freer air;
No more by wealthy upstarts spurn'd,
The bread is sweet by labour earned.
Indulgent Heaven has bless'd the soil,
And plenty crowns the woodsman's toil.

Beneath the axe, the forest yields
Its thorny maze to fertile fields;
This goodly breadth of well-till'd land,
Well purchased by his own right hand,
With conscience clear, he can bequeath
His children, when he sleeps in death.

There is one writer who brings home to us very realistically old-time scenes on the farm—Peter McArthur. This is what he says:

> "Boiling-in has its old-time charm. Although that neat little arch that I have made up my mind to build every spring for many years, and which I have neglected to attend to every summer, is still a thing of dreams, I cannot keep away from the sugar-bush, 'When the sap begins to stir.' As we have tapped only thirty

> trees I am in no danger of being rushed, and the job takes on something of the aspect of a tonic holiday in the woods. By using a minimum of energy I can keep ahead of the sap, gather wood for the fire, and see to it that the sap in the pan is boiling merrily. A discarded bucket, turned upside down, serves as a seat where one may enjoy a meditative pipe. A highholder spent most of yesterday afternoon pounding out his love-calls on a hollow limb near by, and the crows cawed in the restrained manner they have before a rain. There was just enough wind stirring to make a draught under the pan, and it was blowing from the right direction. During the afternoon a couple of visitors came in from the road, and the time seemed ripe for talking over the affairs of the world in general. The air was warm enough to make an overcoat unnecessary. On the whole, conditions were ideal, and I kept right on boiling-in until the sun went down and the moonlight filtered down through the clouds. As twilight began I heard the owls hooting in all directions, and a spirit of loneliness brooded over the woods and fields. By previous arrangement a helper presently came out to the woods, and we gave the syrup in the pan an extra boil before taking it off. Then we tramped across the pasture, carrying our half-pail of thick syrup. It was all very primitive and elemental and refreshing."

I hope that no great building up of the cities, no inrush of immigration, will tear the roots of this country from the things that are real, primitive and elementary. (Loud applause)

MR. A. E. AMES expressed the thanks of the Club to the Chancellor for his interesting and inspring address.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR YOHAN MAHSI

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, April 10th, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause.

PROFESSOR YOHAN MAHSI.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I thank you for this hearty reception you have extended to me, and I thank you very much for the honour conferred upon me to present before you, "The Political Situation in India." Let me say right at the beginning that I belong to no political party in India, nor am I here to spread any political propaganda for India. I am here to speak of the various problems concerning India to-day.

You must have heard and read much about the political agitations which have been carried on in India in recent years. During the last 15 or 20 years there has been a great and ever-increasing unrest. There have been social unrest, political unrest and religious unrest. The whole country has been awakened by this great unrest, the whole nation has been behind this great national awakening, and I will endeavour to explain to you very briefly the causes underlying this great unrest.

First let me say that the people of India are beginning to get their eyes opened to the great benefits which they have received under British rule. (Applause) Under British rule the people of India have enjoyed a type of freedom, of liberty they have never enjoyed before. (Loud applause)

India's national awakening is due to the spread of Western education and Christian teachings which

---

Yohan Mashi, a missionary from India; a close observer and keen critic.

have opened the eyes of the people to their relations with their fellowmen and their relations to God. When Western education was introduced to India the young men and women studied it; they studied Western philosophy and Western culture. They have studied all these things with the result that there has been a decided impetus in progress. The people began to think about themselves and their country. No doubt there have been many things under British rule which gave rise to unrest and discontent, but in spite of the mistakes on the part of the British Administrators Britain has nobly done her duty as trustee of the British Empire. (Applause) Nowhere in the whole world in the past will you find the parallel of one nation the ruling partner of several other nations such as we find Great Britain to-day. The difficulties that beset her to-day in the administration of affairs in India are many. There are real problems facing the Government there. I will give you some figures which may perhaps give you some slight realization of the tremendous problems with which Great Britain is faced in India. In the first place let me tell you that India is more like a continent than a country. There are three hundred and eighty millions of people living in that great country. They are politically divided into two great parties; one party is called the Native State Party; the other is the British Party. There are six hundred and seventy-five Indian States ruled by Native Princes who uphold the British Government. They are interested in internal affairs. The second party is, as I have said, called the British Party. This party is divided into fourteen provinces and they lead the people of those provinces.

You may perhaps be able to form some conception of the conflict of ideas and opinions among the people of India when I tell you that there are 147 different languages and dialects spoken there. A native travelling from one part of the country to another cannot understand the language spoken in that part of the country. There are many different classes and castes, such as the Hindoos, the Mohammedans, the Moslems, and so on. But the most interesting thing about it all is that though there are so many different tongues spoken in India, when the Indian Extremists or Home-Rulers met at the All-India Conference or Congress the language they spoke was the English language. (Hear, hear, and applause)

One-fifth of the population of India is subject to these Native States which I have just mentioned, and two different parts of India. There are very, very old institutions and customs in India. The people are sharply divided into castes and classes. The people of one class will not inter-marry or mix with the people of another class. So pronounced is this class distinction that some races will not go near another for fear of being polluted. There is one caste with which none of the rest of the native population will have anything to do. There are thirty-five millions of these "untouchables" in India.

Another great factor which divides the people of India is the different religions. But I want you to bear this in mind: There is one thing which should never be overlooked; you will not find such things in India as skepticism, atheism or even agnosticism. If you want to make an appeal to the masses of the people of India you must make it from a religious viewpoint. If there is to be a revolution in India or a rebellion it can only come through some controversy over some element of religion, otherwise never. Nowhere in the whole world will you find so many faiths and creeds.

The great mass of the people are illiterate. Probably about seventy-five per cent. of the population live in villages, and seventy millions are continually on the verge of starvation. They get only one meal in every twenty-four hours. They are very poor and have no time to think about home rule or any political question. They are not susceptible to propaganda of any kind; what they are chiefly interested in is how to get sufficient to eat to keep them alive. Some of the children of the poorer classes of about eight to fifteen years of age work from four o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock at night, with only one hour's rest during that time! They receive from ten to twelve cents a day. There is no law to govern this child-labour in India.

Now, there is another thing about India. The educated people there to-day are about six in every hundred, and five per cent. of the youths are in schools and colleges. Sixty-five per cent. of the educated people to-day in India are clamouring for home rule and self-government.

I think I will be safe in dividing the country into three great camps, the first is what we call the Home Rule or Extremist Camp. In this camp you will find really clever and intelligent people. There is no doubt about that. They are very smart politicians. They have a large following of some of the best educated men and women in India to-day. They are hard workers and know what they want. Then there is another great political party which is called the Liberal Party or Moderate Party. They think that the time is not yet ripe for Home Rule and Self-Government. They want to have Home Rule, but they want it in a constitutional way when they think the country is ready for it. The third party is made up of the masses. They are very ignorant and illiterate. They have no time to think of Home Rule or politics. They do not for the most part take any interest in politics. They want to be left alone so long as their property and their honour are respected.

To understand the national awakening of India, and to appreciate the political situation it will be necessary to go back to 1834, which was really the beginning of the various movements in that country. Before that time there was no such thing as higher education on Western lines in India. The introducing of Western education to India is to be credited to a brilliant Scotchman of the name of Duff (Applause) When he went to India he became acquainted with some Bengalese, intelligent men and women, and they told him what they wanted. They wanted a better educational system, so he prepared a scheme whereby they could have the advantage of a Western education. Of course he encountered opposition from certain quarters, but he ultimately went out and did a lot of good. British efforts to stimulate education in India passed most successfully when based upon indigenous institutions. The missionaries were the first to try to educate the people, but they did not receive much encouragement from the official authorities, in fact they were liable to banishment and deportation. They were the first to study the vernacular dialects spoken by the people. They endeavoured to translate the Bible, and also taught English. In 1901 three out of every four country villages had no schools, and only three million boys, or less than one-fifth of the total number of school-going age, were in receipt of primary education, and only one girl for every ten of the male sex, or two and a half per cent. of the female population of school-going age.

It was in 1905 that the people of India first began to have ambitions for independence. That was the year of the war between Japan and Russia. They considered Russia one of the mighty nations of the world, and when little Japan defeated Russia a thrill of joy and aspiration went through all the people in India. The people began to think of their ancient civilization and history of their country. They wanted more freedom. Their demands were so persistent that they led to the passing of the Bengal Act.

The Bengalese have been characterized by every stage of human progress and every type of human enlightenment and superstition, from the educated classes to the primitive hill type. They have had great natural catastrophes, such as river inundations, famine, tidal waves and cyclones in the lower provinces of Bengal. The British Government introduced canals and railroads. Since the advent of British administration the history of Bengal has been one of prosperity. (Applause) When the Bengal Act was passed it created considerable trouble and required special attention from the Indian Home Government.

The Bengalese have always been noted for their advanced ideas, and this led to what has become known as the seven points. I will read them to you:

1. Why is India not a self-governing member of the British Empire on an equality with the Dominions?
2. Why is she not allowed fiscal autonomy and a protective tariff to develop her backward industries instead of being regarded as a profitable market for British goods?
3. Why are not Indians allowed to carry arms?
4. Why are they excluded from the commissioned ranks of the army?
5. What is the cause of the discrimination of the Dominions against Indians in their immigration rules?
6. Why are nearly all the higher and lucrative positions in government held by Europeans?
7. Why have we not had compulsory primary education when after 60 years of educational effort only 6 per cent. of the population is literate and less than 4 per cent. of the total population is under instruction?

These seven points led to considerable agitation, and there was a greater uproar throughout the whole country. The agitators did all they could to foment trouble, and there was great danger of a revolution. They had great hopes that if Great Britain became involved in any European war a rebellion would then be declared in India. Never were they so mistaken. They had made a great miscalculation of the patriotism of the people. When war broke out in 1914, to their great amazement and sorrow India nobly responded when the call to arms came on behalf of the Motherland. (Applause) One million two hundred thousand of her sons left the shores of India to fight under British rule. (Loud applause) They went to fight for King George and the British Government. (Applause)

But though unrest and agitation remained, it was clearly shown that there was no such thing as disloyalty against the British, although while the war was on one or two things happened which disturbed the minds of some people. Certain British statesmen had promised the people that as soon as the war was over that many of the grievances would be redressed, and that they would receive a great many benefits. The war came to an end, and to the bitter disappointment of the people war-time pledges were broken. The people became restless, and the agitators began to get busy. Rebellion was openly preached, but there was really not much danger of disloyalty to the British Government. In the midst of it all, however, there came the massacre of Amritzer by General Dyer and his troops, which sent a thrill of horror throughout the whole country. Everywhere one went the massacre was the sole topic of conversation. The whole country was in a ferment, when along came Ghandi with his policy of non-co-operation and passive resistance.

I will endeavour to tell you briefly the history of Ghandi and how he became an agitator. He was born of a good family and received his education in England. He was educated as a barrister-at-law. He is a man of a very high type of character, and honest in his convictions. During the South African war he formed and led an Indian Ambulance Corps, and in the Zulu war he again volunteered and was given command of a stretcher-bearer corps with the rank of Sergeant-Major. And then in the great war, in December, 1914, he raised an Indian Ambulance Corps in England, and would have served in it but for his broken health. Surely this is a remarkable record for a rebel. He is a sort of a national hero to the youth of the country. They consider him a great patriot. He is looked upon by them as a Garibaldi or a Mazzini. When they listen to him they feel that the Vedas and the Bhagavadgita are no legends. To them Mahatma Ghandi embodies the essence of the selfless spirituality that is personified in sacred books. He is the living incarnation of the spirit that made their country great.

He hates British rule chiefly because he hates all rule. He does not believe in physical force. He preaches the doctrine of non-co-operation, and believes that the absolute boycott of the British Government is the road to the immediate freedom for the Indian people. He commands his followers to withdraw their children from Government schools, to abandon the law courts, to return their degrees, to abjure the use of foreign goods, and to destroy every yard of foreign cloth they possess. Ghandi has completely dominated the Indian National Congress at successive elections, in Calcutta, Magpur and Ahmedabad. He does not believe in force or coercion. He is an implacable enemy to Western civilization. He believes that nobody is entitled to possess more than is necessary for his own use. He and his wife have given away all their property.

Ghandi's release from prison by the British Government was a wise step, because he is highly regarded by the people of India, for he exercised a beneficial control over the more extreme of his adherents. He is loved by the people of India as a great social reformer rather than as a politician. Ghandi's passive resistance to British rule, however, which was really the embodiment of soul force, was unsuccessful in appeasing the masses, because they understand no other agent of possession than that of brute force. That is the only law which they understand, and although Ghandi has received three Divine warnings to stop his work he has persisted. It is on account of his great social reforms that he is called Mahatma, or saint among his people. He has always defended the poor and the oppressed, but there is no doubt that Ghandi has failed miserably as a politician, and he is a very disappointed man.

Now in regard to recent uprisings and ferment in India. There is no doubt that millions of people in India yearn for self-government—swaraj, as it is called. The educated classes might be ready for it, but the outlook is very black. If India were to get home rule to-morrow there is every reason to believe that the consequent results would be famine, plague, internecine wars and invasion. And yet it may be urged that the very habits of peace and order which the British have given India, the great lessons of sanitation and hygiene which British regime has taught, might possibly to a great extent avoid a great many of these calamities. But the risk is too great. Anyone who imagines that India is ready for British democratic ideas of rule by a majority should read the address presented to the Montague Commission by the farmers of the Deccan, by the Zamidaras or great landholders, by European business men, by Indian Christians, by Mohammedans—by all these and various others. They believe that they should not be left at the mercy of any great numerical majority. At one stage the idea of extending the States of Native Princes and turning the rule of British India over to them was considered, but the protests were so many and so bitter that the scheme was abandoned.

Under the Montague-Chelmsford Act the British Parliament tried to provide the native people with legislative machinery which would give them control over their own government, and led them to expect from time to time further grants of power leading ultimately to self-government. It was made plain to the people that if they could prove themselves to be capable of ruling over a few things, they might ultimately be made rulers over many things. The act provided that in the Government of Delhi, the new Capital of India, the Viceroy's Executive Council would have three native members out of a total of eight, and in Whitehall there were to be three native members. A legislative assembly in Delhi was to have a large majority of members conducted by Indian constitutions, having as broad a foundation as conditions permitted. The Upper House of the Council of State was also to have a good majority of Indian members, some elected and a few ex-officio. The Government of India was not, it is true, to be responsible to this native assembly, but to the Secretary of State in London, and from him to Parliament.

India is not yet safe; she is still struggling to pull herself out of the slough of economic backwardness, social agitation and political subjection. Her present struggle is a very material one, for land and bread. It is for these that the peasants of the Punjab, the United provinces, Bengal, Madras and the whole of India have shed their blood. It is for these that the workers and peasants of India follow the Mahatma.

In conclusion let me say this, if there is a great national awakening in India the people are not yet ready for self-government, and the agitation that is going on in India will not be suppressed or squelched by military force. The people of India, however, are loyal to the British Government. (Loud applause)

AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY

AN ADDRESS BY MR. OTTO H. KAHN.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, April 17, 1924.

MR. OTTO KAHN.

Mr. Kahn was introduced by President Brooks and was received with loud applause, the audience rising and cheering. He immediately put himself en rapport with the audience by telling an election experience in England fifteen years ago when, at the suggestion of his friends, Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Bonar Law, he tried the experiment of presenting himself before a constituency in Lancashire, with the view to the possibility of his running as a Conservative candidate.

In an interview with the Chairman of the local Conservative Association, the latter examined him as to his views, tendencies, the policies he would advocate, etc. At the close of the interview the Chairman, a crusty old fellow, said, "Well, you seem all right; your opinions are about what our people want; but"—with a little hesitancy—"but, excuse me for saying it, you don't quite speak like an Englishman. You have something of an accent. I suppose you are a Colonial." (Great laughter) He added, reassuringly, "That will be quite all right; we like

---

Mr. Otto Kahn is a partner in the famous banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., New York, and is recognized as one of the great financiers of to-day. He is internationally famous as the foremost patron of the Arts in the United States, especially in the departments of music and drama. He is president of the Metropolitan Opera of New York. A talented musician, a collector of paintings and art works, a lover of literature and a keen student of history and politics, Mr. Kahn also ranks high as a writer and speaker on economics.

Colonials." (Laughter) Mr. Kahn replied, "I am sorry to disappoint you; I am not a Colonial;" to which the Chairman responded, "Oh well, I recall your mentioning that you have lived a long time in the States. I suppose, then, that it is a Yankee accent." Mr. Kahn said, "No, it is not a Yankee accent, either; I was born the son of a naturalized American father, but who was a native of Germany, where I was born and brought up." The old man's face fell, for even fifteen years ago it was not exactly a recommendation to a British constituency to have been born in Germany. He pondered a little and finally asked, "Do you **have** to say that?" Mr. Kahn replied, "Why, of course, I am not ashamed of my birth. I am not going to stand at the street corners and shout out biographical data about myself but if anyone asks me, of course I will say what I have just stated to you." The Chairman stood a minute, pondering; then said with sudden emphasis "Well, no one **will** ask you!" (laughter)—and he went away chuckling to himself. In the afternoon the new candidate, accompanied by the Chairman, went about kissing babies, inquiring solicitously after the health of the mothers and the business of the fathers, and in a general way tried to make himself pleasant. No one seemed the least curious as to where he came from. In the evening he made a speech before his prospective electors, manifestly with that somewhat un-English accent. He met a number of people afterwards and still there was that same complete absence of inquisitiveness. He was puzzled by that strange reticence. The riddle was solved the next morning and the Chairman's fine hand disclosed, when, in reading a report of the meeting in the local paper Mr. Kahn came across this sentence: "Among the attractive features of our prospective candidate, Mr. Kahn, is his quaint French-Canadian accent." (Great laughter)

The speaker then proceeded: Now, then, gentlemen, whatever accent you may find in my method of speaking, I trust you will discover one accent which lies deeper, and that is the accent of sincere admiration and sincere good-will and sincere interest for Canada. (Applause) In saying this I am merely echoing the sentiments prevailing among 110,000,000 Americans south of you, even though our tariff policies may not always convince you of that. (Laughter)

When, before coming here, I asked my exceedingly well-informed friend and companion, Sir William Wiseman, who, though an Englishman, is almost a Canadian and almost an American and thoroughly at home among all nations that speak the British tongue, what I had better talk about, he replied, "I know Toronto well. You will have a very wide-awake audience, an intelligent lot of people with a broad outlook, interested in anything which is worthy of interest. Why don't you tell them something about the world at large?" So, having returned but a few months ago from a trip to Europe, in the course of which I had the opportunity of speaking with most of the leading statesmen in the countries I visited and with many important men in financial and industrial life, I cancluded to weave my observations to-day around the text "An International Survey."

ENGLAND

Among the many and trying problems which confront England (I am using the word "England" for the sake of brevity, instead of the term "Great Britain"), the most serious and immediate one is the fact—and the causes—of the stubborn continuance of unemployment on a vast scale, though I am glad to say that the latest reports show a distinct and noteworthy improvement in this respect.

A small, unfertile island, being but scantily endowed with natural resources, except iron and coal, she is absolutely dependent for her position as a great power, indeed for the very nourishment of her population, upon her world trade.

Her own prosperity is largely dependent upon the prosperity and the purchasing power of the rest of the world. At present, not only is the consuming capacity of several hundred millions of people in Central and Eastern Europe greatly reduced (with resulting repercussions on other European states and, indeed, more or less throughout the world) but the normal flow of trade has been made more difficult through the shortsighted and disruptive economic dispensations of the peace treaties of 1919.

Each new frontier created under these instruments—and all were created from the sheer political point of view, with incomprehension, or disregard, of economic consequences—has turned out to be a barrier thrown across the course of trade. Custom houses, frontier red-tape and vexations, arbitrary ordinations concerning exports and imports, have been multiplied in the newly set-up States, each of which is pursuing a policy of narrow economic nationalism. Grass is growing on some of the broad highways along which the commerce of the world has been wont to move for generations.

Moreover, fluctuating and depreciated currencies, the reduced standards of living for labour in Continental countries, and other causes have intensified the difficulty for England to export her manufactures and, at least in certain lines, even to hold her own in the home market against the foreigner.

Furthermore, being the only country among the Allied nations that is paying her debts abroad, and resolutely adhering—as she does—to the sound doctrine of meeting her budgetary requirements by taxation, her people, her commerce and her industry are supporting a burden of taxes heavier than exists anywhere else.

She has done things nothing short of heroic in maintaining, in spite of immense difficulties, those fine old traditions of commercial honour and economic righteousness, which are among the principal pillars of the edifice of her greatness. If anything, in her splendid determination not to fall short of these traditions, she may even have gone a little beyond the point of what was strictly necessary.

In the manner and the matter of her settlement of the war-debt due from her to the United States, she has set one of the finest examples ever given by a nation of abiding by the highest standards of financial integrity.

Grave as is the burden to which she has put her shoulder, without complaining and without boasting, I have no doubt that in the long run it will prove a good investment, for uncompromising honesty, steadfast adherence to tested economic principle, sturdy maintenance of those imponderables which spell prestige, do mean national dividends in the end. England will reap the fruits of her admirable course of action; have no fear as to that!

She is facing her problems with calm and with great courage. She has taken stock of the realities and has braced herself to meet them. She has resolutely discarded reliance upon illusory expectations. She is thinking hard. Her best brains are addressing themselves to finding the right solution for her problems and devising ways and means to meet the novel situation which a changed world has created for her.

The route which England selects habitually is not the easiest road. For generations she has been used to meeting difficulties and obstacles and has steeled her character and trained her wits to overcome them. She has learned in the hard school of experience the momentous lesson, all too often unheeded by nations or individuals, to use great power wisely and fairly, with restraint and circumspection. And all history shows that power permanently will only stay in such hands as do not abuse it.

It is not the bounty of nature or the possession of advantageous frontiers which make a nation great. It is the qualities and the efforts of its people. During the war and since the war, the people of British stock have demonstrated that they possess in undiminished degree those qualities and are prepared to make those efforts, which explain and warrant the position of greatness which they have so long maintained.

I have no fear that the present Government of England will jeopardize that position. To the doctrines of Socialism, professed by the party from which that Government is mainly recruited, I am unalterably opposed—not because they are novel and subversive of existing social conceptions, but because I believe them to be fallacious in theory, and in practice a denial of some of the most fruitful impulses and some of the most valuable attainments of humankind. But I know personally and esteem greatly a number of the leading men in the Labour Government. I consider them to be not only men of unusual ability but men loyally attached to their country, meaning to serve its welfare according to their lights, conscious of their responsibility, and amenable to the lessons of practical experience in the affairs of government. Also, it should be borne in mind that the Labour Government holds office in a restricted or tentative way. Theirs is not a blank cheque, but one which must have the countersignature of either the Conservatives or the Liberals in Parliament before it becomes valid.

Moreover, the traditions of England are so deep-rooted and compelling, the road which she will only leave at great peril to the nation is so plainly marked, that even if I did not have the conception which I do have of the leaders of the existing Government, I would still have full confidence that the sound sense of the people, their innate stability, their genius for government, trained by the experience of centuries, and their characteristic capacity to recognize, and deal with, the realities of things, would cause predominating public opinion of England to interpose effective barriers to any course of action which would drive the ship of England into the hazards of uncharted seas.

For many years, now, it has been the fashion to propound that England is on the decline, that poor old John Bull is going to the dogs. For thirty years past, whenever I crossed the ocean, I have had pointed out to me how England was fading and sinking. Even among Englishmen, having, as many of them have, a predilection towards self-depreciation, quite a number were to be found who joined more or less in that gloomy chorus. Either it was those dreadfully efficient Germans who were ruining England's trade, or it was the Japs, or the Yankees, but somebody was always ruining England. And all that time she was to be found at the old stand doing business in her old, wise, honourable way. In despite of dire predictions in pre-war days, throughout the dreadful strain of an appalling war, beset with trials, tribulations and problems since its close, she has stood four-square to all the winds that blow. And so she stands to-day, not free from cares and troubles, it is true, a little weary, but resolutely bending to the task, game to the core, warranting unabated faith in the maintenance of her might and greatness.

That she should succeed, speedily and completely, in solving her problems, overcoming the obstacles in her way—as I have not the slightest doubt she will—and emerging into the sunlight of full prosperity and potency, I hold to be greatly for the best interest, moral and material, of all the world.

FRANCE

Prosperity prevails in France. There is no unemployment, there are few strikes. Her people, proverbially laborious and thrifty, and intensely patriotic, have applied themselves with admirable zeal and determination to the work of repairing the ravages of war, materially and in other ways. Her *economic* position is excellent, her visible trade-balance resulting in but a relatively small excess of imports over exports, while the invisible trade-balance is greatly in her favour, for, she is the garden and the recreation ground of the world, actually and spiritually, of perennial and compelling charm, a treasure house of beauty and interest, and hundreds of thousands of the peoples of all lands are drawn within her borders each year, and that influx means a corresponding stream of gold.

She has erred in certain deviations from correct budgetary prpinciples, with results unfavourable to the *fiscal* position of the Government and derogatory to its credit. But this course has been definitely arrested and corrected through legislation which was put through last month under Mr. Poincaré's energetic leadership. As a consequence of the measures thus enacted, the franc has fully recovered the value that it commanded prior to the collapse which it underwent a few weeks ago, intensified as it was by utterly reckless speculation and by deliberate assault.

No one who knows the qualities and traditions of the French people and who has a conception of the solid, widely diffused wealth and of the natural advantages and resources of that beautiful and aboundingly favoured country—not to mention the immense value of its North African and other Colonial possessions—can be tempted into any misgivings as to the future of that great and brilliant nation.

I had the privilege a few months ago of an extended private conversation with Mr. Poincaré. He is a man of remarkable brain power, of great firmness, determination and energy, an indefatigable worker, utterly unsparing of himself, ardently patriotic and manifestly sincere. His mentality being essentially that of a great lawyer, and being dominated by acute and relentless logic, he has, as the French say, "les defauts de ses qualités"—as is the case, I suppose, with us all.

No useful purpose would be served in discussing, at this time, the matter of the occupation of the Ruhr and the divergencies, between French and British policy in respect of the problem of reparation and related questions—divergencies which, it is a satisfaction to observe, appear in process more and more of being reconciled or eliminated.

The most encouraging and reassuring thing, which has occurred in respect of the European situation since the Armistice, is the presentation of the report of the Dawes Committee and its endorsement by the Reparation Commission. It is characteristic and significant that what Governments, diplomats and politicians were unable to achieve in well nigh five years, has been accomplished in barely two months under the leadership of business men. The Dawes Report is an admirable document, business-like and statesmanlike, practicable and workable, I feel sure, if its provisions are administered by the Allied Governments in the spirit which underlies it and if it is accepted in full good faith and lived up to by Germany. It covers with exemplary foresight and comprehensiveness any contingency which is likely to arise in the course of its operation—subject only to those questions of a political nature as were not within the terms of the reference under which the committee acted.

It is greatly to be hoped that in the determination of these questions the same fairness, wisdom and recognition of the realities will prevail as characterize the unanimous conclusions of General Dawes and his colleagues.

If so, the expectation is fully warranted that this pernicious legacy of the faulty work of the treaty-makers of 1919—a legacy which has been the most fateful hindrance to real peace and, directly or indirectly, the cause of vast losses and much suffering, of ill-feeling, rancour and disputes between those who had been comrades in arms and of grave detriment to the trade and commerce of the world—will, at last, have been definitely liquidated and will finally cease to plague Governments and peoples.

That Germany should ask for certain assurances and definitions before binding herself for a generation and more to the fulfillment of the precise requirements of the Dawes report, would not be unreasonable. That she should so grossly misjudge her own best interests and so fatally to herself defy the public opinion of the world as to make her acceptance, and execution in good faith, of the Dawes report subject to unallowable conditions, or attempt to juggle with it and to use it as a means to delay the fulfilment of her obligations, ought to be unthinkable; and for her own sake I trust that her Government's actions will prove unmistakably and promptly that she harbours no such ideas.

ITALY

To anyone who knew Italy but a short eighteen months ago, with its constant strikes, its class animosities, its political confusion and social tremors, the change which has come over the country is almost unbelievable.

That change must have been ripening in the souls and minds of the Italian people for a long time, but for having brought it about and especially for having brought it about without bloodshed and for having so rapidly and effectively organized its beneficent workings, the credit belongs to a great man, beloved and revered in his own country and much misunderstood abroad, a self-made man if ever there was one, setting out with nothing but the genius of his brain, the force of his character and the ardour of his patriotism, Benito Mussolini.

He is a natural born and genuinely great leader, a tremendous and most impressive personality, but wholly unaffected and singularly attractive, as I had occasion to observe, and the Napoleonic or any other pose is utterly foreign to him.

To him not only his own country but the world at large owes a debt of gratitude. If Bolshevism, Syndicalism and similar pernicious doctrines had won in Italy as at one time seemed to be imminent, there is no saying how far-reaching the repercussions might have become.

Mussolini not only met and conquered these menacing movements, he removed the conditions, actual and psychological, in which they were able to find sustenance. He went before the people not with promises and flatteries, but with a stern call for work and discipline and self-abnegation for the sake of serving the national welfare and attaining national greatness. And the people responded as they will always respond to a great appeal.

Wholly differing from those who in other countries have wrongfully appropriated the label of "Fascismo," he was far from fomenting class hatred or utilizing class animosities or divergencies for political or personal purposes. His way was precisely the opposite. He did not promise or give advantages to any one class. He called upon, and demanded of, all classes that they work together for the good of the nation.

He is neither a demagogue nor a reactionary.

He would have turned, and would now turn, against the capitalists just as vigorously as he turned against radical destructionists, if capital were to fail in its national duty or attempt to exercise undue prerogatives or seek to make the government subservient to its own interests.

He is neither a chauvinist nor a bull in the china shop of Europe. He is a patriotic realist.

He despises phrases and outworn, intrinsically insincere conventions. He is no enemy of liberty, rightly understood, but *he places duties above rights* and the national destiny above partisanship and resounding professions that misuse the name of liberty.

He is no dictator in the generally understood sense of the word. He holds his position and power by the overwhelmingly expressed will of the people and with the approval of the constitutional head of the State, the King.

He has substituted efficient and energetic and progressive processes of government for Parliamentary wrangling and wasteful, impotent bureaucracy.

He has fostered the spirit and the cultivation of religion which, for many years, a crude and false conception of democracy had treated with churlishness and disrespect, if not with actual animosity.

He means to have Italy contented, prosperous and progressive at home, respected abroad, and accorded that position among the great nations to which the intrinsic qualities of her people and the glory of her past entitle her. He is far too wise and right-minded a man to lead his people into hazardous foreign adventures, but he is determined that the practice long prevalent under which at the table of the Great Powers Italy was to be "seen, but not heard," shall cease.

He means Italy to be not merely a land of beauty, of ancient art and historical greatness, but a nation holding her own in industry, science, the arts and all other branches of activity, in the peaceable contest with other peoples in the van of civilization and progress.

Economically, the situation of Italy is distinctly encouraging. There is little unemployment. The frugal, intelligent Italian population is hard at work with a will and with good spirit. Property rights are respected and safeguarded. Enterprising capital is encouraged.

The Government is following the policy of taking the State out of business as much as possible and of avoiding bureaucratic or political interference with the delicate machinery of trade, commerce and finance. Adhering resolutely to sound economic principles, rejecting inflation, limiting its borrowings to a minimum, practicing strict economy, making taxation commensurate with its budgetry needs, Italy has put her house in order and, by her own unaided efforts, under the guidance of her brilliant Minister of Finance, de Stefani, is completing, with remarkable success, the heavy task of establishing financial equilibrium in her governmental affairs. She is laying well and truly the foundation for the prosperity of her people and for a great and auspicious national development all along the line.

* * * * * * * *

I had meant to make a few observations concerning other countries which I visited in the course of my recent journey, but I want still to ask you to follow me in a short discussion of affairs in the United States, and time does not permit to go farther afield. (Voices, "Go on!") No, gentlemen, I appreciate gratefully your kindly encouragement, but I believe in the observance by a guest of the household rules of his host, especially when they are as wise as your rule which imposes sensible limitations upon the time of a speaker.

UNITED STATES

The general business situation in the United States continues to bear the indications of prosperity, with the exception of agriculture, especially wheat growing, and, with the further exception, to a varying degree, of a few other specific lines of industry. It is true that the pace has slackened for the time being and that a degree of hesitation and caution is observable. Certain maladjustments call for correction. Costs in some lines are unduly high. It is likewise true that competition, domestic as well as international, promises to become keener and that profits are not likely in the near future to come as easy nor be as abundant as they were in 1923. But I believe the spur of competition to be desirable for nations as for individuals and that a general level of steady, reasonable profits makes for more genuine and more lasting prosperity than does a prolonged spell of exorbitant gains, with its inevitable sequence of high costs and overproduction and reaction.

On the whole, I can see no intrinsic reason why (though the let-up and process of readjustment naturally succeeding a prolonged period of intense activity may last for a certain limited length of time), the era of prosperity which started in 1922 should approach its end, if we deal with our affairs with reasonable care, foresight and wisdom.

There is, however, one element distinctly discernible which bears within it the seeds of disturbance to prosperity. It is not the creation of natural or economic forces, but one fashioned by men. Its name is politics.

The very first essential for business is confidence. Let there be apprehension of the advent of eventualities which would jeopardize that confidence, and business runs for safety, lives from hand to mouth, ceases to venture in the present and declines to plan for the future. Stagnation and depression ensue throughout the land.

I am not one of those who habitually berate politicians and speak sneeringly of their doings. In judging results due allowance must be made for various elements of fact—such as the underlying and to a certain extent inevitable shortcomings of the political system and processes, the cumbersomeness of the machinery of government, the reluctance of trained business men to run for Congress or otherwise take an active share in public life, and the contrasting and frequently conflicting claims and interests which those in charge of legislation and administration are called upon to reconcile and get into working order.

But, just at present it happens that coincident with a fortuitous combination of conditions which has given the balance of power in both Houses of the American Congress to a small number of legislators of pronouncedly radical tendencies, three acute questions have arisen which lend themselves peculiarly to the exemplification of those shortcomings and troublous potentialities which are inherent to a greater or lesser degree in any system of popular government, and perhaps particularly so in ours as it has developed within the relatively recent past. The way in which these questions are handled and resolved will go far to make or mar confidence, and with it prosperity.

AGRICULTURE

One of them is the problem of agriculture. The farmer, largely unorganized in the face of more or less organized industry and organized labour, buying in a heavily protected market,—protected both in respect of industry and of labour—but having the price of his product determined through world competition, obtaining barely pre-war prices for a large part of his output while paying greatly enhanced prices for that which he purchases and the help which he employs, is the victim of acute maladjustment in respect of some of his principal products. Adversity has come upon many a farmer while he sees industry prosperous and wages at unprecedented levels. He is gravely discontented and under a sense of grievance toward the existing order of things.

His is a toilsome calling at best, involving inevitable hardships and hazards, and usually a poorly requited one, indeed one of the least adequately remunerated among those which make up the sum total of the nation's activities. The farming business is the largest in the country. The basic and vital necessity of the farming industry needs no emphasizing. The immense social value of the farming class to the State is beyond argument.

There can be no lasting prosperity in trade and industry, unless the farmer is reasonably prosperous. There can be no stable and propitious condition in the field of politics (using the term in its larger meaning) as long as the farmer harbours the resentful feeling that he is not accorded a square deal.

It is harmful and menacing to the commonwealth that so numerous and so valuable a portion of the population should feel dissatisfied and be without prosperity. The situation lends itself peculiarly to the incitements and wiles of the demagogue and to the plausible figments of the economic visionary.

Unless well-considered and genuinely effective measures of alleviation and remedy are promptly enacted as needed and such policies put into operation as will accomplish the object in view within the limits of the economically tenable, the danger looms ahead that a large section of the farming vote may succumb to the specious persuasiveness and false promises of the well-meaning, self-deceived purveyor of political and economic nostrums and delusions, often disproved but ever resurging, or of the cunning demagogue and fomentor of class animosity.

Indeed, that danger is upon us. Both justice and self-interest demand of the community at large that every legitimate and well-considered effort be made to redress what may be found to be just grievances of the farming industry.

TAXATION

The second question is that of taxation. I can imagine few problems less complex, less challenging to governmental capacity, than that of providing the revenue needed for the budgetary requirements of the government of the United States. For a nation as rich as the American, the task of raising by taxation the sum of approximately $3,000,000,000 annually ought to be both easy and simple of solution. Unfortunately, it has been made largely a political question, not—I feel convinced—by the majority of the people at large, but by self-assertive and clamorous minorities and by politicians. I need not go into details. The echoes of the controversy on this subject, which for the past four months has been going on in the United States have doubtless reached this body of well-informed men.

Secretary Mellon, with the unqualified approval of President Coolidge, has put forward a proposal for tax revision, which I believe to be scientifically sound, socially fair, economically wise. That its adoption, with minor modifications, would confer a genuine boon upon all the people and greatly aid enterprise, progress and prosperity all along the line, can hardly be gainsaid. Every test which has been made seems to indicate that its merits are recognized by a majority of the people and that its adoption is favoured by the almost unanimous sentiment of business, large and small.

Opposed to the Mellon Plan, is a combination of views and motives: Sincere, reasoned and well-intentioned divergence of conception and judgment, political timidity, opportunism or partisanship, economic misinformation, superficial plausibility, sectional or class prejudice, semi-socialistic radicalism, disapprobation of wealth *per se*, and so forth.

As I have said I do not mean on this occasion to enter into detailed arguments in respect of the

Mellon plan or to discuss the substitute bills sponsored by its opponents. I will only mention that while all parties agree upon a large reduction in the rate of taxation upon the income of those of small or moderate means, the principal points of difference are expressed in the fact that the Mellon plan proposes a reduction of the maximum surtax rate from its present figure, i.e., 50 per cent. to 25 per cent., while the opposing camp desires the maximum fixed at about 40 per cent., and secondly that the Mellon plan retains the present rate of estate duties, i.e., a maximum of 25 per cent., while the opposition wishes to raise it to a maximum of 40 per cent.

The adherents of the policy of very high surtaxes base their attitude professedly on the commendable desire to promote the welfare of the less well-to-do. Yet a little reflection will show—as, in fact, the past five years have shown convincingly—that such surtaxes inevitably fortify the advantage of existing wealth and handicap those who start with little.

Within the past five years, while big business has been expanding, there has been a very noticeable slackening in the starting of new and independent ventures. Financial backers are naturally shy of such ventures nowadays owing to the disproportion between the risk of loss and the possible reward, inasmuch as the greater part of the reward goes to the Government in taxes while the loss falls upon the individual. Even if backers are found, how can the newcomer succeed in setting up a concern capable to hold its own against old established businesses with ample resources if, instead of using the bulk of the earnings for fortifying and improving his enterprise, he is compelled to turn over to the Government *in cash*, a very large part of that which conspicuous ability, inventive genius, daring enterprise or good fortune may enable him to earn?

As Mr. Henry Ford has explained in a recent interview, he could not possibly have gone on improving his methods, enlarging his instruments of production, cheapening the cost of his output, if in the early stages of the development of his undertaking he had been obliged to pay the larger part of his cash resources to the government in taxes. It is not open to question that high surtaxes inevitably tend to diminish competition and to intrench against the newcomer those who are in established positions.

It is a well known fact, characteristic of America—as it is of Canada—that our wealthiest men are not those who inherited their possessions but those who started at the bottom of the ladder. Heretofore the eager, venturesome, plucky fellow who would boldly set out to climb the steep road of success, regardless of obstacles and of handicaps, and who more frequently than in any other country would reach the top, was a welcome, picturesque and characteristic figure in American life. There is just as much room on top as there ever was in the United States. Indeed I think there is more room than ever before. But that figure has been far less noticeable within the past five years than in previous years. The main reason for that regrettable circumstance must be found in the fact that the road to conspicuous, material success is largely blocked to the newcomer by the barricade of the surtaxes; and the sad irony of the situation is that those who stand in the way of the removal of this barricade are the very men who profess to be—and, in most cases, I believe sincerely mean to be—the particular friends of the plain people.

As to excessively high rates of estate duties, time does not permit me to enter into this subject. I will only say that I am wholly in accord with the theory of progressive inheritance taxation, but that this problem which on the surface seems so simple and is so appealing to one's natural sense of justice, has, in fact, manifold, complex and far-reaching repercussions of a social and economic character, and that those who would deal with this matter in an offhand and sweeping way overlook fundamental and unchangeable facts.

What the outcome of the clash of contending forces in the present Congress will be, I do not pretend to know. That, for good or ill, the result will have a considerable influence upon the activity of business, the intensity of enterprise and the prosperity of the country, I do know.

Measures of economic faultiness, however well-intentioned, have been more fruitful of harm to the people, throughout history, than almost any other act of government.

THE WASHINGTON INVESTIGATIONS AND DISCLOSURES

The third element of possible menace to the country's prosperity arises from a feeling of apprehension based upon the generally confused state of the political situation, upon the uncertainty of the political outlook, upon the bitter virulence of party conflict and upon misgiving that certain unrefuted exposures, together with the effect of many as yet unproven but widely broadcasted rumours, allegations and innuendoes may cause the righteous resentment of the people to overshoot the mark, and that the shaft rightly aimed at abuses and guilt may at the same time hit and strike down prosperity.

I do not wish for a moment to mitigate the import of such acts of wrong-doing or impropriety as have been or may still be, brought to light. Yet, it seems permissible and indeed appropriate in speaking to you whose impressions must necessarily be based principally on newspaper reports and who are perhaps not wholly familiar with the atmosphere surrounding the proceedings, to emphasize first of all that these acts are by no means typical of our Governmental affairs which, generically, we are warranted in believing free from moral turpitude; secondly, that among the names involved, or seriously alleged to be involved, in the episodes under discussion but very few are those of business men of acknowledged repute and standing; and thirdly that, after all these months of searching and testifying, thus far, with one conspicuous and deplorable exception, no definite allegation has been substantiated against the trustworthiness of leading officials of the Government. And, likewise, with one exception, no concrete act of wrongdoing on the part of those in the secondary rank of authority and responsibility, such as Bureau Chiefs, has as yet found convincing support in valid testimony.

What does seem, besides, to have been demonstrated with distressing clearness is, first, instances of deviation from those requirements of good taste, dignified affiliation and becoming regard for appearances, as must be maintained zealously in high places if the people's respect for high office is to be preserved; secondly, among the "smaller fry" certain most reprehensible delinquencies or irregularities and infractions of the proprieties and ethical standards; and thirdly, and all too conspicuously, the creaky, lumbering, haphazard and generally inefficient working of a considerable portion of the Government's machinery under existing methods. For this last mentioned state of affairs, at any rate,—and indeed for more,—it does not seem to me that the electorate at large can escape a share of responsibility: As long as the people encourage the practice of greater frequency of elections, primary and others, than exists in any other democracy, but fail, in large numbers, to discharge their civic duty by voting at every election and otherwise taking adequate part in public life; as long as the people permit their representatives, on the one hand, to keep on, by a multiplicity of laws, to enlarge constantly and complicate and strain and centralize the functions of the Federal Government, and on the other hand, sanction the practice of changing many thousands of functionaries with every change of Administration, and of appointing many thousands of men to office by no other test but the favour of Congressmen and Senators; as long as they countenance neglect to make the civil service attractive as a permanent career, either through adequate pay or through other appropriate means, and to create in it a vigorous and compelling esprit de corps—as long as these things are permitted to continue, we are hardly justified in indulging the expectation that investigations and findings will bring really effective and lasting redress.

Our own people may safely be counted upon to exercise a fair degree of discrimination in appraising the weight, reliability and animus of the investigation proceedings by the several committees which have been and are holding hearings, and to reach a roughly correct estimate as to how much there is of party purpose and political or personal prejudice, how much of plain inefficiency, how much of inherent difficulty to administer certain laws, and how much of real culpability. In the end, public opinion will express itself in definite conclusions, and justice will be vindicated, and wrongdoers brought to book, in the calm and dispassionate atmosphere of our federal courts.

Meanwhile, I would urge that, in fairness and respect towards the American people, those outside of the United States defer arriving at conclusions and do not permit any impressions based upon one-sided allegations to become crystallized in their minds.

You who live so close to us, must have observed the American trait of what may be termed, for want of a more appropriate term, the "headlines" spirit. Whether it be things that redound to our credit or otherwise, we are somewhat prone to be trumpet-tongued and over-emphatic in spreading them out before the public. We have the tendency to "think aloud," to react very quickly and intensively to the superficial impact of first impressions, to draw and express broad conclusions from what may be only sporadic incidents and to magnify their significance—a tendency salutarily tempered by the practice of sober second thought. In contradistinction to the rather general habit in Europe, we have the custom,—on the whole, I believe, a useful one,—of washing our soiled linen very conspicuously in public, and we go at it with great relish and zest and clamour and with a profusion of soap and water sometimes quite out of proportion to the actual cleaning to be done.

It is, of course, no argument in mitigation of such regrettable delinquencies as have been brought to light in the United States, but it is a fact nevertheless which has its place in the discussion of these occurrences, that, within the past twenty years or so, delinquencies of perhaps still uglier aspect have been proved against prominent personages in public life in other leading countries,—but the accompanying public notice and, in some cases at least, the consequences to those concerned, were tempered by the desire to safeguard respect for governmental institutions at home and good repute abroad, to the measurable subordination of party advantage and the distinct limitation of the exigencies of "pitiless publicity." That does not make the transgressions which have been brought to light in the United States, less bad or more pardonable, nor do I mean to offer it as an example of how such things should be handled, but it does bear a certain relevancy from the point of view of "relativity."

CANADA

As to your own country, it would be not only presumptuous but also futile were I to attempt to discuss your problems, for naturally you are far better informed concerning them than I could possibly be.

The name of Canada stands high throughout the world. Its credit is excellent. Its resources and natural advantages are very great. It is producing a fine, sturdy, upstanding race of men and women. To be a Canadian, is an excellent trade-mark everywhere. The greatness of Canada's future is beyond question.

If I be asked—as, in fact, I have been asked—in closing these remarks to say a word of "sermonizing" to this assembly of representative Canadians, as a friend and wellwisher coming from a nation of friends and wellwishers, it would be this:

"Take pains to understand one another's views, aims and problems—man and man, calling and calling, section and section. Seek to be fair and helpful to one another. Realize that, inescapably, you are all in the same boat, that all your problems are common problems, that the way to progress and prosperity is not to pull anybody down, but to pull everybody up, that the means towards combating poverty is not to be found in division, but in multiplication.

"While striving to enrich your country by strenuously carrying on the things of material purport, aim to enrich it likewise by cultivating those of the spirit, the things of art, culture, beauty, faith, science.

"Practice economy, both nationally and individually. It is one of the urgent needs of the day. Make every effort to have taxation reduced to the strictly necessary and to have it applied not according to political but to scientifically economic considerations. Unwisely laid or unduly high taxation is one of the most serious handicaps and obstacles to a nation's welfare and development. All taxation, however laid, is a burden on all the people.

"Beware of the glib talker, encourage the doer. Don't begrudge success or the reward of success, if gained by character and ability. The man of constructive capacity and enterprise is an asset to the community, and whatever may be the fruits of his activities for himself, much the greater benefit is bound to accrue to the community.

"The potentialities of Canada are immense. The realization rests with her people. Its attainment cannot fail you if you bend to the task with a long pull and a strong pull, as is the Canadian way, and, above all, with a pull all together."

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING FAMILY

"Pull all together!" That is indeed the keynote for the people of all countries, faced as they are with the complexities and problems which have come in the wake of an appalling war and ill-judged peace settlements. And, over and above any one country, it ought to be, and I believe more and more it is coming to be, recognized as the keynote for the relationship between the two great branches of the English-speaking family. No other international relationship—and I include the League of Nations—is comparable in importance to this: That the democracy of the British Empire and the Republic of the United States, without abating keen but fair trade rivalry, thoroughly understand and appreciate one another, sincerely mean well by one another, and move in close and harmonious contact. No other international relationship is comparable to this in good augury and potency for the peace, prosperity and progress of not only the peoples directly concerned, but of the peoples of all the world. (Loud applause, the audience rising and cheering).

SIR WILLIAM WISEMAN, on the request of the President, spoke briefly, remarking that the Speaker of the day had given an address which was really a phenomenon—light without heat. (Laughter and applause) He thought the best thing he could do for Canada would be to persuade Mr. Kahn to take enough time from his busy life to travel right across Canada—(applause)—for no one could possibly appreciate this country's resources without going from the Atlantic to the Pacific through it. Someone had said that the Almighty in His wisdom gave Canada boundless prairies whereon the greatest grain in the world could be grown, shining rivers, mighty forests, and mineral resources beyond the dreams of avarice; and then, fearing that this great accumulation of wealth might be a temptation to the ungodly, He gave them, finally, the Scotchman, in order to be quite sure that no one should ever take from Canada anything to which he was not entitled. (Great laughter and applause)

MR. GEORGE S. CAMPBELL, of Halifax, first President of the Canadian Club of that city, and President of the Bank of Nova Scotia, was asked to speak briefly, and made an interesting comparison between Mr. Kahn's wide range of talent and that of the late Sir Edmund Walker, whom he greatly resembled in his grasp of financial matters as well as in his love of art, music, etc. On behalf of the audience, Mr. Campbell thanked Mr. Kahn for a great address, greatly appreciated.

CANADA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, April 24, 1924.

AN ADDRESS BY REV. C. A. SEAGER, M.A., D.D., LL.D., PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with loud applause.

REV. PROVOST SEAGER.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am very grateful for the introduction which has been given me, and for the very cordial way in which it has been received. I have attended a good many luncheons at the Empire Club, but this is the first one at which I have been called upon to suffer (laughter) but I trust that you, Sir, will not share my agony. I am consoled, however, by the subject on which you have asked me to speak.

It would be very natural to ask why there should be an address on the subject of the League of Nations at this Club, or indeed before any Toronto audience. You have had the privilege of hearing at least two very distinguished speakers on the subject—Sir George Foster and Hon. N. W. Rowell—both of whom have been personally and officially in touch with the League of Nations and with the

---

Reverend Charles Allen Seager is a graduate of Trinity University, (B.A., 1895; M.A., 1896; D.D., 1914; and LL.D. (Toronto), 1922. He was rector of St. Cyprian's, Toronto; rector of All Saints', Vernon, B.C.; principal of St. Mark's Hall, Vancouver, B.C.; and rector of St. Matthew's, Toronto. In 1921 he was chosen provost and vice-chancellor of Trinity. Doctor Seager is a strong sagacious administrator, a vigorous speaker, and is deeply interested in movements on behalf of Canada and a United Empire.

League of Nations' Society, and are thus peculiarly well equipped to speak on the subject. Toronto audiences have heard many other speakers, and one would imagine the theme had been exhausted. Moreover, everyone of us has watched the development of the League with that interest and keen fascination which so momentous an experiment must engender in the heart of every thoughtful man and woman.

The answer to that question, if it were asked, is to be found in the first word of our theme to-day, *Canada* and the League of Nations. This is a thing about which I am to speak; not the League in general, or even in particular, though I am tempted to do so; but about Canada's particular, specific relation to it. That I do not think, if I am permitted to say so, does require emphasis to-day; for while we all have, and the Canadian public has had, very deep and general interest in the League of Nations, I think it is not unfair to say that we cannot but miss that feeling of responsible and specific interest in the League of Nations which Canada's relations to it really demands. This, I suppose, was the motive in the request to me to speak on the subject.

But before I go on to that, I cannot refrain from again endeavouring to recall to your minds the League of Nations itself in its general outlines; to ask you to envisage the greatness of the attempted experiment; to ask you to conjure before your imagination the picture of over fifty nations of this earth, ruling four-fifths of the population of the globe, meeting together through their representatives under a deep and solemn sense of obligation, not merely to try to prevent wars—for that is only one department of the League's activities, as you know—but really to endeavour to face and to solve that whole series of international problems with which this new age has confronted human society at the present time. This is the outlook of the

League of Nations; nothing less than this. There is something immensely impressive in that fact when we allow our minds to dwell upon it.

Nor can I refrain from reminding you also of the extraordinary measure of success which has attended the League in its practical activity. The more one reads of the League—and I follow it closely—the more one is impressed with this actual achievement under immense difficulty. It was launched upon a somewhat skeptical world—a world which, perhaps naturally, is constantly saying, "Show us the results of your work, and we will believe you." Well, people who ask for results must be satisfied with results; and while it would be impossible for me here to begin to enumerate all of the remarkable achievements of the League, there are such things as that amazing accomplishment, the financial reconstruction of Austria (hear, hear) a veritable triumph; a triumph which could have been repeated more easily in Germany than in Austria. The effect of that must impress the mind of every thoughtful man.

Even that much-criticized incident, the Greek-Italian Controversy, in which the League has been citicized very severely, still stands as a monument of its efficiency and success. Again, to a society which asks for results, we may honestly request that it be satisfied with results. After all, that little ebullition of swashbuckling imperialism did subside. The thing was done. What more do we want when we ask for results? What more can we ask?

Or who can contemplate the significance, so to say, the symbolism—of what appeals to me, at any rate, as perhaps the most extraordinary achievement of the League—the International Court of Justice (hear, hear), without feeling that in that institution is really represented the beginning of those developments of international law upon which the future of this world really must depend?

As one looks broadly over the League and asks himself what it really stands for, I will tell you the way it impresses me. I seem to see, although it may be imaginative—I do not think it is—in the League of Nations the beginning of a great new thing which I venture to call the International Civilization. (Hear, hear) It may be we are not impressed with the *idea of* International Civilization. In nations and in races and in empires we are accustomed to civilization. If a man steals my goods or blackens my name or threatens my life there is no need—and because there is no need there is no permission—for me to put a six-shooter in my pocket and go out and get after that man. The moment such a thing threatens, there immediately rises up about me a marvelous system, legislative, executive and administrative, that rushes to my protection; and to that great system, hammered out in the history of a thousand years, I commit myself with confidence. (Hear, hear, and applause)

We are so accustomed to that kind of civilization surrounding us every day, national civilization, that we do not always realize that there is no analogy whatever in the international situation of the world, and that in an age which has annihilated space and thrown the peoples of this world into violent contact with one another, something analogous to that is the necessity of the time. (Hear, hear) And the next great achievement of the human society, heralded by the League of Nations in all its ramifications, is what I venture to call nothing less than the beginnings of a new International Civilization. (Applause)

It is just as absurd that a nation, in order to defend its people, its possessions or its honour, should have to send out a million soldiers with bayonets and guns—fundamentally and logically just as absurd—as that I should go out with a six-shooter to defend my life in the streets of Toronto. It is only because there is no development of International Civilization that such a thing is inevitable, because it is the only thing to do; and let us hail with optimism and with enthusiasm the League as perhaps the dawning of that which cannot be created in a day, but which must be hammered out in generations of painful experience, an International Civilization.

But all this is passing. I am not here to speak about the League as such; our point is *Canada* and the League of Nations, and there are cogent reasons why every Canadian who takes his citizenship as a responsibility, who desires to be swayed not by prejudice or whim or fancy but by fact and by principle, should put his shoulder to the wheel to strengthen Canada's contribution to the life of the League.

In the first place, Canada is one of the nations signatory of the Peace of Versailles, and part of the Peace of Versailles is the Covenant of the League of Nations. We must not forget that that Covenant is not an interesting document expressing somebody's idealistic fancies, but is a "scrap of paper" to which our name has been affixed, and which we are in honour bound to keep intact. (Applause) There is sufficient in that one consideration to arouse that sense of responsibility in the breast of every loyal Canadian which ought to be there; one need hardly say more. It was a great day when Sir Robert Borden rose from his place and affixed his signature, as a representative of this nation, to the Peace of Versailles and to the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was a great day in a good many ways, and for many reasons; amongst others it marked a new step in the development of the national life of this country. We hear a good deal about that kind of thing, but we don't seem to believe it. It is true, nevertheless. Stages and steps in the enfranchisement of this nation are perfectly easily traceable in history, and that represents the latest.

I see that your Secretary, Dr. Goggin, has tried to catch me in a trap; he has put on the notice of this luncheon this phrase:—"Canada's status has been the subject of much discussion in many places." But, Sir, I am not to be caught, even by your astute Secretary. (Laughter) I have no intention of entering into the discussion of the national status of Canada. As a matter of fact it does not need much discussion, because it is here. (Hear, hear) We must not forget that Sir John Macdonald at the time of Confederation was very eager indeed that the new Dominion should be called "The Kingdom of Canada," and that the only reason that the British Government objected to it was that it might offend the susceptibilities of the people of the United States. (Laughter) I mean to say that when we are thinking along these lines, we need not forget those little facts (hear, hear) so that if anybody claims that Canada is a Kingdom, I don't know that I have much objection, but if anybody asks who is the King we shall come to the salute, and say, "His Gracious Majesty, King George the Fifth." (Applause)

But I must not enlarge upon that. If you want any literature, hot and strong, on this subject I might refer you to "The Kingdom Papers." (Laughter) If you want something more mild, but by no means less cogent, I strongly recommend you to read the publications of my friend, Hon. N. W. Rowell (hear, hear) who writes in a quiet, sane and strong and convincing style which is so peculiarly his own. However, my point is this: If Canada took a step forward in the development of her national life through the signing of the Covenant of the League of Nations, there should arise, corresponding to that, a deepened sense of that national duty and that national honour which are just as impressive in the case of nations as they are in individuals, and just as binding, upon which the safety and prosperity and security of international life must depend.

(Applause) We are pledged to it, therefore as a matter of course we are profoundly interested.

But there are other reasons, and very cogent ones indeed, why there should be in the heart of everyone of us, and of every Canadian, that responsible interest in the League of Nations which participation in its obligations must engender. Those reasons lie deep in those formative influences which are creating and determining the development of the character and the destiny of this country. As I remarked here on another occasion, those forces which are making this nation, of whose activity and energy Canada as a nation is the product and result, are three in number.

The first is that as a country we lie, geographically, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and north of the 49th degree of latitude.

The second is our close proximity to the greatest republic in the world. We rub shoulders with it from day to day. We are profoundly affected by its life and activity, and in an ever-increasing, a vastly increasing degree, that republic is going to be affected by the activities of our life and our doings in the days that are to come, even as it is already.

The third formative influence behind the development of Canada is our initimate relationship with every nation on the globe through our share in the life of the British Empire. (Applause)

So far as I have been able to discern, those are the three forces; and he is a wise man who takes his citizenship responsibly, who faces the fact of those three forces and tries to understand them and to adjust himself to them. Those are the three forces which are making this Canada of ours—its geographical situation, its proximity to the United States, and its relationship to the British Empire; and in every one of those deeper forces lies a reason for our responsible interest in the League of Nations.

Take the first, our geographical situation. Canada lies between the Atlantic and the Pacific, north of the 49th degree of latitude. It represents the link between the Occident and the Orient. At one front door, because we have two of them, lie the great vast countries of Europe; at the other lies that unknown, that immense, and that portentous future of the East. We lie between the two—the connecting link. The old western pioneer explorers followed a true instinct when they sought across this continent a way to India and Cathay. I can think, as you do, of those explorers—of Jacques Cartier in 1534 thrusting the nose of his ship into every indentation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence—think of it—hoping eagerly that in some one of them he would find the way through to the western sea and the shores of India and China. I can think of them, as they saw the tumbling rapids of the St. Lawrence, crying "Lachine! Lachine!"—China! China! I can think of Champlain going up the Ottawa and coming to the shores of the Georgian Bay and looking out over those waters wondering what lay beyond. I think of LaVerendrye and his sons battling against the blizzards of the north-west, striving and struggling westward, ever westward, trying to find the mysterious passage through. I can think of everyone of those explorers, from Verrazzano to Sir John Franklin, every one of them stirred by the same instinct and the same motive—seeking and seeking, with toil and privation and death, to find the short-cut across or through this continent to the magic regions of the east. And then I get on a train in Halifax or in Montreal, and I travel quickly and luxuriously across this continent, and I arrive at the Pacific Coast, at Vancouver or Victoria, and as I see those two frail lines of steel disappearing behind me, as I have often done, I think of them as a veritable apocalypse—the secret revealed unfolded—the secret short-cut to Asia. Here it is. The instinct of those men was right; their dream was a dream of truth whose significance is far vaster than they ever imagined; you know the sentiment in those lines:—

> God beckons men with lesser lure,
> Not fronting them with awful Plan;
> The child-heart strains for rainbow gold,
> And, straining, moulds itself to man.

(Applause) Those great men followed a true instinct, and no will-o'-the-wisp. They found the way, and this *is* the way from east to west, from Occident to Orient—this land is the link between the two.

What does that mean to us? It means that the destiny of this Canada of ours, as the centuries unfold, is nothing less than an international destiny, and an international destiny of the highest and most vital sort. It is an international destiny that is involved in the development of all the future; which is bound up in the development of the Pacific Ocean and of the countries which adjoin it. The future lies before us—if I were an Irishman I would say our history is yet to come—(laughter); but it is coming, and it is a history pregnant with events not merely within the country itself, but in its vital significance to the world's life; and if there is any people on the face of this earth who ought to be interested in the great movement toward International Civilization which is represented in the League of Nations, it is this people of Canada, who hold that strategic relationship to the world's life which I have feebly endeavoured to indicate. (Applause) We are a people small in number, but before this century closes, and 40 millions of people dwell north of the 49th parallel, there is going to be a shift in the centre of gravity of the life of the world.

But there is a second influence, formative of the national life of Canada. It is our proximity to the United States of America, the greatest Republic in the world. In this is embodied a second cogent reason for a really responsible interest in the League. By what a strange but clear and unmistakeable movement of the Providence that moulds the nations did it come to pass that, from the Arctic Circle to Mexico, the North American Continent is substantially English in speech, in institutions, in law and in tradition? At one time it did not look as if that would be the case. From the days of Frontenac to the days of Montcalm, French policy in North America stands perfectly clear. They had a vast conception. Their policy was to hem in the English colonists on the Atlantic Coast and prevent them forever from going beyond the Alleghany Mountains. Perhaps the most significant figure who symbolizes that policy is the sad and tragic figure of La Salle. From his centre at Fort Frontenac, from his Fort on the Illinois, on his explorations in the Mississippi Valley, he is inspired by one thing, behind which was the brain and the energy of Frontenac—to hem in those pestilential English east of the Alleghany Mountains so that they might never get across, and to keep the vast west to be New France. That was the policy, as we all know. The English might have the seacoast if they could keep it; France was to have the rest.

Next to the motive of finding a way to the east, that was the motive which lay in the souls of the explorers of that time. How the bubble was burst by the bayonets of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham is of the A, B, C, of our knowledge. How at a time when the English political system was very imperfectly developed, and under the influence of a very mistaken policy, the thirteen colonies of America revolted and formed the United States of America, we know. Now, a vastly changed English political system has developed and a great new science of Empire has grown up within the last seventy-five years, by virtue of which the English Colonies in the northern part of the North American Continent did not have to revolt, but are to-day a self-governing Dominion, and to their vast advantage and gratification are still members of the British Commonwealth. (Applause) Then, how those two great Anglo-Saxon nations in North America have lived together for over one hundred years, and have kept the peace, we also know.

Yet, do we really know how it has been done? Since 1812 there have been many causes of friction. There have been live coals blown almost into flame in the north and in the west and the east, by land and by sea, between Canada and the United States, and yet there has not been any war. Why? Because we learned, somehow or other, the science and the fine art of negotiation and arbitration; that is why. (Applause) We learned the value of discussing matters, of getting together and trying to solve our disputes. We have acquired a habit of peace; that is why there has been no war. There have been causes of friction between us far more provocative of war than those which have been behind many of the historical struggles in the past, and yet we have not gone to war; we have trusted to negotiation and arbitration. Sometimes we have been beaten in the game, of course, we in Canada. I begrudge, with all my soul, that long strip of white that goes so far south down the northern Coast of British Columbia. I begrudge that very much. (Hear, hear) There are other things I begrudge. However, it is all in the game. We have played the game, and we have lost sometimes, and we have won sometimes; and one thing is certain—that the chances of our losing in the future are very slim indeed. (Laughter and applause) Meantime, out of it all we have battered out a new science of negotiation and arbitration. We have discovered, in a hundred years' experience, the secret of how to keep away from war. In other words, we have discovered the principle of the League of Nations. (Hear, hear)

Now, this is the point: As Canadians, as the partner that owns the northern half of this continent, as signatories of the Covenant, it is our business so to contribute to its efficiency, so to help make it work, as to bring it to pass that the American people will come to see, as great numbers have already seen, and as majorities are going to see before long, that the secret of negotiation and arbitration, which has been tried out between us for a hundred years, has simply got to be tried out in world-relationships (applause) ; and that no nation, and least of all these new and young nations with their history in front of them on the North American Continent, can afford to stay out. We must be in it, in the great task of developing what I have ventured to call International Civilization.

But somebody might say, "You talk about the contribution of Canada towards the efficiency of the League; it doesn't amount to much." It amounts to a very great deal, and for this reason (and this is my third point), that in Canada's support of the League of Nations she is not alone; she is a member of that great world-wide Commonwealth called the British Empire. (Hear, hear) What she does is part of a far larger contribution. She is a member of a greater League of Nations, which has also in the process of time hammered out a certain science of living together.

The soul of the problems of the world in the future is how people are to live together in safety and in peace; and Canada's contribution to the League and to its development, if it be honestly and thoughtfully and responsibly made, will be far larger in its effect than, in its intrinsic magnitude, it might appear; because Canada is one of that great congeries of nations called the British Empire, and because the life of that whole great institution is behind her and flowing through her, and particularly because of the geographical situation which we occupy, and because of our relationship to the great Republic to the South. (Applause)

My single desire, and it is a very earnest and a very sincere one, is to leave upon the mind of everyone this general impression—that in this League of Nations we have not something to laugh at, something to criticize, something to stand aloof from, but something to read and to study and to understand, and to take our responsible part in; first, because we have sworn on our honour to do it; secondly, because our whole future, that great contribution which this country will make more and more to the life of the world as the centuries go by, calls upon us, for our own sake and our children's sake and the world's sake, to get to work in laying a few stones, if they be only a few, in that great temple which will be the great building of this new age, across whose door will be written the words—practically unknown in the history of the world before—

"THIS IS THE TEMPLE OF INTERNATIONAL CIVILIZATION."

MR. JENNINGS, Editor of the Toronto Mail & Empire, expressed in strong and appropriate language the appreciative thanks of the large audience to Provost Seager for his inspiring address.

INTERNATIONALISM

AN ADDRESS BY RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES P. ANDERSON, D.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, May 6, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the Bishop who said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—As a general rule, I am greatly handicapped by introductory speeches that are so complementary that I cannot live up to them. But the story with which your President introduced me to-day has the rare merit of being absolutely true. (Laughter)

I am not at all sure of the appropriateness of speaking about Internationalism on an occasion of this sort or whether this is the right time or place. But of one thing we are all quite sure, that it is a most important subject. (Hear, hear) It is a subject that is being considered in all quarters of the globe. Internationalism does not involve anti-nationalism or unpatriotism. Nevertheless, Internationalism does involve somewhat the surrender of national ambitions and some re-consideration of the ground which patriotism is supposed to cover. It seems to me that there are no countries in the world where the question of Internationalism could be considered with so much equanimity as in Canada and the United States, unless perhaps the water

---

Rt. Reverend Charles Palmerston Anderson, D.D., is a Canadian by birth, educated at Trinity College School, Port Hope, and Trinity University. He was rector of Beachburgh, Ontario, 1888-1891, and of Grace Church, Oak Park, Illinois, 1891-1900. In 1900 he was chosen Bishop of Chicago. He is a brilliant preacher, a fine organizer, and a tireless worker on behalf of social service. He was one of the three bishops chosen for the World Conference on Christian Unity.

question—(laughter)—might make a discussion of it a little warm at the present time.

Canada is a part of the British Empire. The British Empire encircles the globe. The sun never sets on it. As I see it, it is an international federation of free and independent peoples exhibiting considerable variety of customs, employing many languages, having many religions, but a unit nevertheless under common ideals, working under a common flag and supporting a King that is beloved of all his constituents. (Applause)

On the south of Canada is the United States. Between that country and this there is a line which is scarcely more than an imaginary line except for political purposes. I have crossed that line, as many of you have, at different points and I have never seen guns or forts or garrisons or soldiers or anything that was likely to menace peace on either side of the border. I lived in Canada until I had reached young manhood. I have been over in the United States now for something like thirty years. In all those years I have never heard with my own ears any statement made concerning our northern neighbour that was not a statement of admiration, respect and affection. (Applause) It may be that from time to time some individuals, generally in political circles, may speak unadvisedly with their lips, but I believe I know the pulse of the American people as a whole, and the American people have not a shadow of aggressiveness towards Canada and they have not a shadow of suspicion of any aggressiveness from the other side. (Applause)

Consequently, at this place it is possible for us to think about Internationalism without either of us getting in serious trouble, and it is a subject concerning which we will have to do a great deal of thinking out towards the circumference before we will be ready to come to the centre.

The spirit of Internationalism is growing in our time. There are some things that are incurably international. Art is international. No one would think of attaching any special merit to a picture because it was painted by a member of a certain nationality. Art is art the world over. Merit is merit the world over. Science is international. When one of your young men of the medical profession made a discovery that is likely to attack one of those diseases that was ravaging mankind, he rendered a service not only to the people of one nation but to humanity throughout the world. (Applause) And when the government of Canada endowed a man of that sort it endowed a better human race. Literature is international. Shakespeare belongs to the United States as much as to you. We enjoy Professor Leacock over there as much as you do here. (Applause) Education ought to be international—perhaps more international than it is. The Rhodes Foundation made a good start in internationalizing education. The interchange of professorships which is taking place throughout the world today is a splendid and hopeful sign of coming good feeling. But while education ought to be thoroughly education, there are certain aspects of education, I think in every country in the world, which tend towards anti-cosmopolitanism, which tend towards a false patriotism which are apt to beget barriers between people between whom those barriers ought not to exist. I refer to the teaching of history from a nationalistic basis in nearly all schools and colleges throughout the world.

As I stand here in Toronto I remember well my text-book on history when I was a boy in the schools here in the Province of Ontario. That text-book was a story of kings and wars. British history I saw through a telescope—the history of the other parts of the world largely through a microscope. I was taught to venerate some of my ancestors as United

Empire Loyalists. I went across to the other side and found that my ancestors were regarded as rebels. (Applause) I read a little French history when I grew up, and found that French history had about the same attitude towards England as English history had towards France.

It was this that led me to welcome a book which has been open to very serious criticism but which, nevertheless, it seems to me, starts a new idea of the teaching of history—I refer to that well-known book, "Wells' Outlines of History." I do not know any book in which I should find so many things with which I disagree (laughter) and at the same time a book whose main principles so entirely agree with my own ideas. The book finds few great among men and women. The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome cannot be found within its pages, but it is an attempt nevertheless to teach history from the standpoint of humanity and progress rather than from a merely nationalistic standpoint; and it seems to me until we begin to learn history from the point of view of the unity of the whole human race rather than from the prejudicial point of view of particular nations, that we are likely to continue the sort of thing that breeds war and trouble between the nations of the world. (Applause)

Religion ought to be international. The Christian religion cannot be true to itself if it is anything else than international in its scope and in its outlook. Christian religion speaks and thinks and should act in terms of the whole human race and of human needs everywhere. Take its fundamental principles: "I believe in God." It is the God who has made of one blood all nations of men who dwell on the face of the whole earth in whom many of us express our belief. "I believe in Christ"—He is the light of the world. It would be an impertinence for any race or nation to think they had any monopoly of Him. "I believe in the Spirit of God" as the most energising thing in the lives of men. "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" as something that is destined to surround the world, something which knows nothing of these artificial and political barriers which men erect between themselves.

Those are the postulates of religion, and the language which religion speaks is the language of brotherhood and fellowship and friendship and justice and mutual helpfulness and co-operation. (Applause) If religion ever speaks a note that falls short of internationalism it is striking a note that is something less than Christian, and I am not sure but what the Christian church, which ought to be so international—has been responsible for a great many of those barriers that divide people by allowing an international religion to become nationalized in so many of the countries of the world. (Hear, hear) It may be that the Lord Bishop of Toronto will inhibit me for what I am about to say, and that he will forbid me to speak to-night. (Laughter) I have come into contact with established churches nearly all over the world. I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that an established church tends to pull the church down rather than to pull the nation up.

I well recall my first visit to Europe. I was quite young. There are some military men who may not agree with what I am about to say now, so I am liable to get into trouble on all sides. (Laughter) I remember well the shock that came to me at finding war flags in the churches of England and France and Germany—honored and tattered flags which represented great service to the country and all that, but it seemed to me then, and it seems to me now, that the house of God is no place for an emblem which reminds us of the way one set of Christians killed another set of Christians. If we are to do anything in our day and generation to make a civilization that we can gladly allow our children and grandchildren to grow up in, we will have to arrive at some kind of international arrangement which will tend to lessen or abrogate war. (Hear, hear)

What about war? What is the conclusion that we ought to come to about it? One thing is perfectly sure, Gentlemen, you must not allow yourselves to be stampeded into either militarism, pacificism, jingoism or any other kind of "ism." I take it that Canada, like the land of the south, is the land of the free and the home of the brave. And we must be brave enough to claim our freedom to arrive at conclusions without being let or hindered by any thing other than the consideration of the welfare of the human race. There are people who believe that war is essentially immoral and un-christian. The Quakers are amongst them. They are a splendid set of people. The number of people who agree with them is constantly increasing. When one considers that most of the wars that have cursed mankind have been at some point or other wars of aggression and acquisitiveness, which sought to obtain by physical force what could not have been secured by right; when one considers the hatreds that wars engender, the lives that are required to propagate them and the slaughter of the innocents, and their brutalizing effect upon the human race, it might almost seem as if it were a one-sided subject. On the other hand, there have been times, and there may be again, when a willingness to die for a good cause is the highest type of Christian conduct. (Applause) Even we have to distinguish between willingness to die and willingness to kill.

Several years have elapsed since that last Great War. Did Canada do an immoral act in entering upon that war? Did the United States, which came in, as some of us think, very late in the day? Looking back over all, after having time to reflect, we cannot think that we acted upon that occasion on any other basis than the basis of a moral necessity. (Hear, hear) In spite of the fact of the paralysis which followed in various parts of the world, in spite of the set-back to civilization, we, nevertheless, feel that it was a moral right for us to do what we did, as it would have been a moral wrong to do otherwise. (Applause) Well then, may not the same conditions arise again? Yes. May there not be a great moral necessity again? Yes. Will a continuance of that sort of thing cause the human race to deteriorate and our civilization to collapse? Yes. What then are we going to do about it? It is at this point, it seems to me, that people divide into three camps. There are the militarists or the war-makers who glory in war. There are the pacificists or the peace-keepers, and there are the peace-makers. I insist on dividing them up into three classes rather than into two. I refuse to be classified with the militarists or the pacificists. I do not propose to be left out of consideration.

The militarists could be left out of consideration because no thoughtful man will admit that he is a militarist. It has seemed to me that the weakness of the pacificist's position—and I dislike greatly to criticize it—is that the weakness is two-fold; first, that it would commit a man now to what he is going to do fifty years from now or ten years from now before he can anticipate what the circumstances are going to be. Secondly, it undertakes to preserve the present peace conditions throughout the world. But, Gentlemen, present conditions do not make for peace. Present conditions make for war. World civilization to-day is on a clear war basis. Now then, there is where the peace-maker comes in and the programme of the peace-maker is to change the conditions, to exterminate the war germs, but I would remind you, Gentlemen, that that is going to be just as expensive a programme as war might be, and it is going to require a higher kind of courage than even war requires. For the peace-maker has a programme that may involve the economic reconstruction of society. It may involve the overthrow of political parties. It may involve a man's subjecting himself to journalistic and political terrorism but, I tell you, Gentlemen, the game is worth the candle. (Applause)

There is a new element in all this situation at the present time, and that is coming from the youth. There is a great deal in the revolt of youth that we are hearing about and, curiously enough, the revolt of youth against war began in Germany and it is spreading. It is spreading throughout the colleges and throughout the young people of the land. They have a right to revolt. Men who are as old as I am have no grounds for being conceited with themselves for what they have done in their day and generation. I tell you we old men, politically, have made a good deal of a botch of things. (Laughter) And the young generation have a perfect right to say what sort of a civilization they are going to grow up in. (Hear, hear) They have a right to revolt against the political and religious blunders which church and state have combined to make in our generation. (Applause) I feel assured that you will agree with me then that the programme of the present time, difficult as it is, is to bring about, somehow, some formulated or articulated Internationalism in which such an abiding principle as peace, fair-play and justice will become politically incorporated. (Great applause)

AUSTRALIA AS I SAW IT

AN ADDRESS BY SIR JOHN WILLISON, LL.D., F.R.C.S.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October 2, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause.

SIR JOHN WILLISON.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—All that I can say about Australia must be fragmentary and inconclusive. It is a land of immense distances and of infinite variety. I was there too long to write a book about the country and yet not long enough to confess complete ignorance of its conditions and problems. I touched only the fringes and the centres, but was fortunate enough to meet many of those who are active and influential in the political, industrial and social affairs of the Commonwealth. I saw as one of its poets saw:—

> The vision splendid of the sunlit plains extended,
> And at night the wondrous glory of the everlasting stars.

But perhaps one gets more out of contact with men than he ever gets out of the mere contemplation

---

Sir John Stephen Willison was born in Huron County, Ontario. He entered on his career as a journalist with the London *Advertiser* in 1882, passed to the Toronto *Globe* in 1883, and became its editor-in-chief in 1890. In 1902 he left the *Globe* and became editor-in-Chief of the Toronto *News*. In 1910 he was appointed correspondent in Canada for the London *Times*. His wide acquaintance with men prominent in politics, the charm of his literary style, his sparkling wit and kindly humour, his restrains in the discussion of great questions, and his ever abounding faith in the influence of the British Commonwealth of Nations in world affairs have earned him an eminence attained but rarely in Canadian journalism.

of nature even in its most beautiful and most wonderful aspects.

The story of Australia is full of romance, of tragedies of sea and bush and plain, of the struggle to get and the struggle to hold among landowners, squatters and selectors, of the strange wild life of gold fields and silver camps, of the eager competitions of the great shearing stations, of wandering sundowners and wayward jackeroos, of priests, publicans and sinners, of heroic endeavor and long endurance, of pitiful reverses and solid, continuous achievement.

We in Canada have perhaps less of the temper of adventure than the Australian people. We do not go out so often nor with such serenity and confidence upon the long trails that lead to the ends of the earth. To most of us in Canada the sea calls across great distances and the appeal is less intimate and less persuasive. But the sea calls forever to Australians and always in the language of England and Empire. It is estimated that during this year between 70,000 and 80,000 Australians made the long journey to Great Britain and that their total spendings would aggregate between $400,000,000 and $500,000,000. They think nothing of two or three months on the sea, or of absences from home of six months' or twelve months' duration. Many of their sons go to Oxford and Cambridge, and in all their reading and thinking they are closer to Great Britain than we are in Canada.

Australia has as good a press as there is in the world. The cable services are singularly comprehensive when the immense cost is considered. In the editorial columns public questions are discussed with dignity, sobriety and authority. In reporting and interviewing there is remarkable accuracy. The chief newspapers, however, are controlled by wealthy proprietaries and between the Press and Labour there is an eternal conflict. The leaders of the Labour party profess to believe that they are misreported or unreported and, whatever substance there may be in the grievance they so dearly cherish, it seems to yield a fair harvest of political capital. So far as I could discover, the Australian newspapers are not unfair to Labour in reports and despatches, but they do represent the forces and interests against which Labour has to contend in its struggle for political control.

The best plays run for months in the theatres of Sydney and Melbourne. The average production is of higher quality than we get in Canada. For that there is a reason. It is a long and a costly journey to Australia. A failure in Sydney or Melbourne means disaster. Hence only the best actors with the best companies can risk a season in the Commonwealth. When we were there Dion Boucicault, Seymour Hicks, Oscar Asche and Gertrude Elliot were playing nightly to crowded houses. Melba, with a wonderful company of artists, recruited in Europe, was just closing twelve weeks of Grand Opera in Melbourne, and during all those weeks there was seldom a vacant seat or a vacant box in the theatre in which the company appeared, although it had an actual seating capacity of four thousand. It must be remembered, too, that Sydney is a city of only a million people and that Melbourne has a population of only 800,000. Could the best English actor with an adequate company play for two or three months continuously in Toronto or Montreal, or could we fill Massey Hall for ten or twelve weeks of Grand Opera even with Melba as the supreme attraction? Australia is distinguished for its love of music and for the generous patronage which it extends to the distinguished artists of other continents. It is said that this is as true of the rougher and more remote communities as it is of the intellectual centres. It may be that there comes down the years the voices of camp and station in those old songs of home and love and sentiment and passion which have ever been the solace of pioneers in the solitude and loneliness of new lands and far-away places.

There are phases of life in Australia for which there are no counterparts in Canada. For the most part the climate is so friendly that all the year round men may live in the open and sleep under the stars. There is in parts of the country excessive heat in summer but seldom a severe touch of winter. The Australian winter, as we found it, resembles October in Canada. Many houses are not heated, and in colder weather there is often a touch of discomfort. So the trains are not heated save by electric foot-mats which promise more than they perform. But I was in five of the States of the Commonwealth and I travelled many hundreds of miles on Australian railways in comparative comfort. To provide even during the winter for such a system of heating as we have on the trains in Canada would be uneconomical and unwarranted by Australian conditions. We in Canada would do as Australia does if we had the Australian climate.

One who goes from Canada is naturally interested to compare the Australian state railways with the railways of America under private control. But there is no true basis of comparison. In some of the States the tramways of the cities constitute a portion of the general railway system. In Melbourne the electric suburban roads, which carry a huge volume of traffic are controlled by the Victoria Railway Commission. On the other hand a great proportion of the freight and not a little of the passenger business of Australia is carried by the coastal steamship services. We must remember, too, that half the population of the Commonwealth is concentrated in a few seaboard cities and that the highways of the sea are open all the year round as against five or six months of effective water competition with the railways of Canada. Again the differences in gauges make railcarriage of inter-State freight difficult and costly. Going from Sydney to Brisbane one has to transfer at the border of New South Wales to the Queensland Railway System; going to Melbourne it is necessary to make a like transfer to a Victoria State Railway; and beyond Adelaide, in South Australia, one has to make several changes to connect with the Trans-continental Railway System. These differences in gauge with the grave inconveniences which they involve are largely the result of inter-State jealousies which made union of the Australian States under a common government such a long and difficult process and it is not certain that a quarter of century of Confederation has produced a national spirit to which public men can successfully appeal against State loyalties and State prejudices.

It will be remembered that the Australian Constitution is modelled upon that of the United States rather than that of Canada. The States retain all powers and privileges which were not definitely surrendered to the Commonwealth. But I think Australian statesmen have become convinced that the powers vested in the Central Government are inadequate for effective and efficient legislation and administration. If they could remake the Constitution, they would not adopt the American or even the Canadian system, but would follow the example of South Africa and establish in the Central Government every reserve of power necessary to ensure its authority, supremacy and dignity. It was expected that after Confederation there would be reconstruction and reorganization of the railways upon a standard gauge, but public opinion has not been coercive enough to compel action as against other heavy demands upon the Treasury for great social and national objects.

We did not discover that arrogance among employees of the State railways that we were led to expect. There was, instead, uniform courtesy and civility, one's baggage did not go astray and nothing that could make travelling easy and comfortable was neglected. No doubt Australian railway services could be improved but, whether or not there are disadvantages in State control, under all the conditions good results have been achieved in Australia and nothing is more certain than that any proposal to hand over the railway to private companies would be summarily rejected by the Australian people.

It is difficult to make Australia understand why there is no powerful political Labour party in Canada. In each of the Australian States there is a Labour party and only a few years ago Labour governed the Commonwealth. It is true, as has been said, that one-half the population of Australia is to be found in four cities, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane. But that fact alone does not explain the strength and solidarity of the Labour movement.

Australia has been a great laboratory of social and industrial experiments. No other country perhaps has enacted so much legislation to secure industrial peace and possibly no other country has so many strikes. Unionism has sunk its roots deeply into the social and industrial system. The governing principle in State and Commonwealth is that the condition of the average man is the true test of civilization. In so far as governmental regulations ensure fair wages they are defensible; in so far as they encourage laziness and reward shiftlessness they bring evil. But even among employers there are vital differences of opinion as to the general effects of Australian Labour legislation. There is an element among employing capitalists who curse Labour without ceasing just as there is a Red element in Labour which hates those who build and loves those who destroy. But the great body of Australian workers are patriotic constitutionalists, at least as honest in motive and as responsible in action as the aggressive employers by whom they are assailed.

In Australia, as elsewhere, the employing classes are defamed by those among them whose only god is gain, and the workers by those who would wear the linen they have not spun and drink the wines they have not produced. But one does feel that Australia has a grievous excess of industrial machinery. The Wage Boards have compulsory powers which are the natural attributes of autocracy. There is conflict between State Boards and Federal Boards. There is inquisitorial investigation into the details of private business. There are preferences for Unionists which have the iron touch of coercion. There are awards which gravely embarrass employers and unduly increase cost of production. There are awards, too, which reduce the wages of efficient workers and increase those of the less efficient and the positively inefficient. There lies the chief evil of many of these Australian regulations, for surely the individual has a divine right to exert his powers to the utmost and surely, if initiative, efficiency and enterprise are not rewarded, the wheels of human progress will be retarded and the average level of human comfort will be reduced.

There are unions of journalists which prescribe hours, wages and the amount of work which may be performed. There are unions of stenographers and unions of barbers and unions of waiters in hotels and restaurants. Most powerful of all Australian unions, perhaps, is that of the workers at the great sheep and cattle stations who exercise great political influence in the Commonwealth. I saw nothing of these sheep and cattle stations, and therefore I cannot speak with authority upon one of the most vital and interesting phases of Australian development. But one met many of those who are financially interested in sheep and cattle and grain and fruit and could not fail to learn something of the relation of the primary producers to the progress and prosperity of Australia. At the moment, however, I desire chiefly to emphasize the fact that the shearers and other classes of outside workers are as strongly organized as the industrial and commercial workers in the cities and there is found one of the chief sources of the strength of the Labour party in the Commonwealth. There are, of course, radical differences between agricultural conditions in Australia and in Canada. This country has few large estates and organizations of farm employees would be a difficult if not an impossible undertaking. But the Labour party of Australia embraces wage earners alike in town and country, and many of those who work with their heads as well as those who work with their hands. It has been strengthened also by the enfranchisement of women, for the wives, daughters and sisters of workers vote far more freely than do those of other classes. But nothing is more discouraging in Australia than the low percentage of qualified voters who cast their ballots in political contests. The average, I believe, is between sixty and sixty-five per cent. That is a pitiful showing in the very nursery of democracy.

There are men of high ability and distinction in the Australian Labour party. One of these is Right Hon. W. R. Hughes, who exercised a moral power during the war only below that exercised by Lloyd George himself, but who like Lloyd George has fallen into strange popular disfavour. There are such men as Mr. Charlton and Mr. Anesty in the House of Representatives. Mr. Anstey, too, often flogs himself into oratorical fury but Mr. Charlton, who leads Labour in Parliament, is a man of moderate temper and high character, respected by his opponents and well regarded by the country. It is Mr. Theodore of Queensland, however, who looms up as the leader of Labour in the future. He is able, bold, aggressive, the servant of the unions, but not their tool. Disciplined by experience in State politics, he will probably display more of constructive than of destructive quality in federal affairs. But the more deeply one looks into Australian political conditions the more soundly one becomes convinced that the fundamental principle of responsible government is challenged and denied when Parliamentary leaders are required to take orders from an outside caucus, that wise and stable government is best secured through a national party representing all classes, sections and interests, and that the old British two-party system is the best that has been devised for the government of a free country. But a party which fails to seek a due proportion of its candidates among the workers in field and factory cannot be national nor can it fail to stimulate the class spirit in the groups which are ignored. The Southern Continent, as has been said, has been a nursing-mother of democracy, but not all of the legislative children which it has reared could be wisely adopted by other countries and not a few, one believes, will be finally disowned in the country of their origin.

There is no doubt that Labour strikes easily in Australia, and that the losses through industrial conflict are tremendous. One wonders if disputes are not provoked where so much machinery is provided for their adjustment. Besides it is inevitable in all machinery which has a political character that voting majorities will get the balance of advantage from its operation. Generally the awards of wage boards will favour workers rather than employers. Because this is so the wage boards are not likely to be idle and the search for new grievances and the formulation of new demands will continue. But out of interminable disputes and costly conflict there is growing among employers an increasing and resolute determination to have industrial peace and contented employees. In important industries, systems of profit-sharing have been adoptd or workers have been encouraged, or even assisted, to secure stock in the companies by which they are employed. So far as I could discover there is absolutely no disposition among Australian employers to tolerate interference in management, but there is a distinct movement towards a partnership in the profits of industry, and where this has been found practicable the temper of Labour has improved and its efficiency has increased.

One believes, or at least one desires to believe, that sooner or later in Australia and elsewhere humane employers and efficient workers will unite to secure industrial peace and high production, to compel the idle and the shiftless to draw a fair share of the load, to make the dole a disgrace to the individual and a shame to the nation, and so to recast the social and industrial system that no man who is willing to work will be denied the privilege of earning his daily bread and no loafer or malingerer be allowed to live upon the toil of others. Nothing is more certain than that this great end cannot be achieved by legislation alone, but employers who provoke unwise political action become fewer and there are signs that workers become less willing to demand that governmental meddling in business which is bad for government and bad for business. One cannot challenge the settled conviction of Australia that the condition of the average man is the true test of civilization and, however one may regard some of the social and industrial experiments of the Commonwealth, it is doubtful if in any other country there is a higher average of comfort or more of that spirit of independence which gives dignity to the individual and high temper to the community.

In fiscal policy Australia is resolutely, aggressively and invincibly protectionist. It is difficult now to believe that New South Wales was one of the last strongholds of free trade. So far as one could discover, that State is now as protectionist as Victoria which was the nursery of tariff sentiment in

Australia. It is the deliberate and settled policy of Australia to import nothing which can be manufactured within the country. If a duty of 25 per cent. is necessary to establish or maintain an industry 25 per cent. is imposed. If forty or fifty per cent. is required the higher rate is levied upon competing products from outside. The duties upon farm machinery, for example, run as high as fifty or sixty per cent., and even the leaders of the Country Party admit there is no prospect that they will be greatly reduced. It must be remembered also that the great distance of Australia from the industrial countries necessitates freight rates so heavy that they constitute a considerable protection for Australian industries. The Labour party is as protectionist as the National party which draws its chief support from the industrial and financial interests. It is held by the great mass of the people of Australia that they must provide home markets for many natural products, and employment for town workers at high wages, and that Australian capital must have opportunity for profitable investment within the Commonwealth. They give a preference to Great Britain but it is conditional upon adequate protection for Australian industries and in all trade negotiations with other countries, even with New Zealand and Canada, they will consider nothing which could check the expansion of an established industry or prevent the creation of a new industry. This is not the time or the place to defend or attack Australian policy, but one may perhaps suggest that the Commonwealth affords no support for the notion that Canada is the chief fortress of protection in the Empire.

Drought, as we know, has been Australia's great affliction. The country has few rivers and there are rainless seasons when sheep and cattle die by tens of thousands. Very heavy expenditures for irrigation have been made to overcome this tremendous disadvantage, and over very considerable areas an adequate supply of water is now assured. But there are still many districts where a day of rain is as a cloth of gold and there are times when water is rationed as is food in a time of famine.

It has often been said that conceit and arrogance are distinguishing characteristics of the Australian people. If one takes the war as a test, the indictment is not sustained. They have a great and solemn pride in what Australian soldiers achieved, but I never heard any offensive boasting nor any whining over the tremendous losses and sacrifices which the war entailed. One has often wondered if there was anger or resentment among the people over the tragic adventure of Gallipoli. But when the subject was mentioned, and it was seldom mentioned, there was never any word of reproach for the Imperial Government nor any suggestion of grievance over the cruel losses of the Australian army in that desperate and ill-fated enterprise. It is not much to say that the soldiers of the Commonwealth had their full share of hardships and suffering. They had the long sea journey in crowded ships and often under most trying climatic conditions. They fell in tens of thousands at Gallipoli. They served on the hot plains of Egypt and Palestine. They fought stern battles in France and Flanders. In Australia as in other Dominions there were differences of opinion over the war or, at least, as to the measure of obligation which rested upon the Dominions but there was as great unanimity of feeling as in Great Britain, for there is no considerable population in the Commonwealth or in New Zealand that is not British in birth or orgin and devotion to the Mother Country and the Empire was beyond all other considerations the sentiment which called the Australasian people to exertion and sacrifice. In their isolated position on the Pacific those five or six millions of people vitally need the support of Great Britain but behind their action in the war there was no sordid calculation nor any anxious thought for their own immediate or future security. They gave freely of all they had of men and resources and they neither lament nor repent. All over Australia, on the plains, at crossroads, in rural villages, on wide green sloping hillsides, are seen memorials to those who fell. These are not always artistic or impressive, and many have a common design, but they are seldom ugly and they are never neglected. In the great park at Perth there is a long winding avenue which they have named the Avenue of Honour, lined upon either side with young oaks and pines, each bearing the name of a soldier of Western Australia and at one point a row of five commemorates the sacrifice of a single family. At Ballarat, famous in other days as one of the most wonderful gold fields ever discovered, there is a very remarkable memorial to the soldiers of that district who fell in battle. With their own hands the young women employed in a great factory planted young trees for a distance of fifteen miles along the highway and each submits to a small annual assessment to plant flowers and keep the ground watered and the trees protected. Thus Australia remembers its dead while it has not neglected those who survived the long ordeal of battle. Through the generations those memorials will carry their messages of duty and sacrifice and for all time they will touch the soul of Australia and inspire its people to high endeavor and noble achievement.

Australia is distinguished for its devotion to sport. Betting is common, if not almost universal, in all classes. The chief sports are racing, football, rowing, cricket, polo and bowling. All these games are peculiarly British and in all they excel. The teams which go out to Great Britain from Australia test the mettle of the best sportsmen which the Old

Country can produce. In sport as in all other pursuits and activities they reveal that high self-confidence which is the distinguishing characteristic of the people. It is not mere conceit or arrogance although it is sometimes and often misunderstood. Those wide spaces of plain and sea, the indulgent sun and the shining stars give buoyancy to the spirit and confidence in the favour of the gods. It has been said by a sour critic that "God Almighty's sunshine is Australia's damnation." No doubt the favorable climate tempts to sport and, in a land where men may play in the open all the year round, games absorb much of the time and energy of the people. Racing is continuous and the attendance at the chief racing events runs into tens of thousands. From a stand in Sydney I saw in a wide circle at least thirty thousand people at football matches. Both at Sydney and at Melbourne one is amazed at the ease and celerity with wich these multitudes are carried to the sporting fields and back to thir homes in city and suburb. One doubts if any other community in the world has such a wonderful system of local transportation as Melbourne possesses. And it was chiefly to accommodate the huge crowds which attend sporting events that these facilities were provided. One wonders how far this almost universal devotion to sport effects the commercial and industrial efficiency of Australia. What would be the effect in Canada if all the year round we gave as much time to sport as we give during the four months of summer. I do not mention golf because the subject conceals a high percentage of explosive material. All of us find a defence for the sport to which we are specially devoted. There are many thousands of people in Australia and New Zealand who will insist that Lawn Bowling is a sport and not merely a distressing manifestation of mental decay and physical debility. At least the absorption in sport so universal in Australia suggests an eager, virile and robust people and, when all is said and all the facts of situation and opportunity are taken into account, it may be that no other nation in the British Commonwealth has achieved greater things, developed a finer manhood, or laid the foundations of a truer democracy.

One who goes round the world with open ears and seeing eyes must be impressed, as it seems to me, not so much by the power and majesty of the British Empire as by the tremendous responsibilities and obligations which lie upon its people. From Toronto to Vancouver we cross three thousand miles of British territory and any contact with the Pacific suggests the mystery and the potency of China and Japan, and the possible effects of hostile political action in those countries upon Great Britain, Canada, Australia and India. At Suva in Fiji the flag flies in evidence of British ascendency in the South Sea Islands. We go on to Auckland, the commercial capital of the British Dominion of New Zealand, and one of the most happy and prosperous states in the world. From New Zealand we cross the Tasman Sea to Sydney and first touch the Commonwealth of Australia where five or six millions of free adventurous, confident British people are holding a continent for Throne and Empire. From Sydney we sail for over twenty-five hundred miles along the Australian coast and across the great Australian Bight to Freemantle whence we set out on the long voyage to Ceylon. Ten days later we land at Colomba, under British sovereignty, and where we are within ten or twelve hours of India with its teeming multitudes and all its baffling problems. From Colomba we cross the Arabian Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea to Suez. At Aden, often described as the gate of hell, and at Perim there are British garrisons, martyrs of Empire, sweating out their lives in the devastating heat of an intolerable climate. From the Red Sea we look to the shores of Palestine under a British Protectorate, and the mind fills with thoughts of sacred things and holy places. At Suez we enter the Canal, secured against foreign control by the genius and vision of an alien seer who by a happy fortune governed England for a season. Along the Canal there is still some of the wreckage of war and in a hot dawn on the bare wide desert we see a great war camp where British and Australian soldiers bore the miseries of heat and dust and sand with heroic fortitude and unbroken endurance. We leave the Canal at Port Said where it is said all the scum of Europe gathers. As we enter the harbor we see British soulders at play in front of the barracks. Ashore we find already evidence to the slovenliness of Egyptian government. Out from Port Said we enter the Mediterranean and at last leave the ship at Naples where we find at anchor in the harbour the powerful Mediterranean unit of the British fleet. Across the continent of Europe one feels the dominating position of Great Britain on the exchanges as one realizes how greatly the spendings of British and American travellers support its ancient cities. From Paris we go to the Somme and like Stevenson:—

We travelled in the print of olden wars,
    Yet all the land was green,
And love we found, and peace,
    Where fire and war had been.

They pass and smile, these children of the sword—
    No more the sword they wield;
And Oh, how deep the corn
    Along the battlefield!

From Aimens we cross to Great Britain, and find again the consolations of English speech, the traditions we reverence, the institutions we cherish and the gods we worship and feel, if we do not understand, the silent moving of those mighty forces which make the British Empire the legatary trustee of mankind.

One cannot, as I have said, make such a journey without a wider and deeper conception of Empire and as it seems to me a conception in which there is less of arrogance and jingoism and more of gratitude and reverence. Again and again there rings in the memory the sounding jazz of Kipling, "You can't get away from the tunes that they play to the bloomin' old rag overhead." But to the challenging words we give a new interpretation and a new emphasis. In the Gulf or Aden, as we stood on deck and looked across Africa, I asked an old English naval commander if the fact that so much of the world was in British hands was the reason Britons were not loved by other nations. He answered with a touch of asperity that we had left a great deal to other nations, but after a pause added, "Of course we have the bits that matter." Do we always remember that controls of the bits that matter means responsibility and viligence and burden and sacrifice? If it be true, as it is, that the Empire was won at a great price it is just as true that it is held at a great price. If you should take away from the fabric of civilization the supporting hand of the British Empire many millions of people would go blindly towards desperate destinies and great areas of the earth where comparative peace and security now prevail would become a welter of confusion and anarchy. Under whatever circumstances or for whatever reasons Great Britain may have set her foot in so many lands, her rule is tolerant and beneficent and she is giving, perhaps too freely, the privileges of self-government to backward and dependent peoples. At best the tree of democracy bears strange fruits and there is no more difficult problem even for advanced communities than to get the best results out of free institutions. When one thinks, therefore, of the vast burdens which rest upon British shoulders, the infinite difficulties, perplexities and anxieties which beset Imperial statesmen and the vital need of a strong, alert, responsive and decisive British diplomacy one wonders if the extreme autonomists in some of the Dominions and dependencies are not nagging the Foreign Office into a state of futility and if George the Fifth must accept from the Dominions in the Twentieth century the doctrines of Representation without Taxation as against that of Taxation without Representation which George the Third could not impose upon the American Colonies in the Eighteenth century:

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE WAR

AN ADDRESS BY MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN F. O'RYAN, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, October 9, 1924.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR, Vice-President, introduced the speaker.

Major-General O'Ryan was received by the audience standing and cheering.

MAJOR-GENERAL O'RYAN.

Mr. Chairman and Gntlemen,—I am a great believer in the English-speaking people. (Hear, hear) I like England, and I like the English language. I say that advisedly, because I have studied it. I began my study of the English language when America went into the war. (Laughter) You see, most of us in the States, in the Army at least, were acquainted with but two languages when the war began for us. These two languages were American and profane. (Laughter) Knowing that we were to operate in France, and being at the time on the Mexican border, we began to apply ourselves, very naturally and logically, to an investigation and some study of the French language. I know that our men with a reasonable degree of industry applied them-

---

Major-General O'Ryan is a graduate of the University of New York, with the degrees of LL.B., and LL.D., and a graduate of the U.S. Army War College. He was commander of the 27th Division, American Expeditionary Force, which fought as part of the Fourth British Army in Flanders and on the Somme. He has been honoured with many decorations by the British, French, Belgian, Italian, and American authorities.

selves, and soon we heard such phrases as Choi sang and O lazum.

Thus armed with a fair knowledge of the American language and profane, with a smattering of French, we landed in France; and much to our surprise, instead of being assigned to our own American army or sent for service with the French, our entire 27th Division was assigned to the 2nd British Army, and we remained with them until the Armistice, so our entire service, with something over 9,000 casualties in our Division, was with the British.

Of course when we got that assignment we had a rather certain belief that it had its advantages. We thought that in the matter of having what we believed to be a common language there would be great advantage to us, but we soon found that we were somewhat unduly confident in our ability to speak that language understandingly, and on the other hand to understand it when spoken to us. (Laughter) For instance, one of our first difficulties had to do with the getting of trucks for the O.R.Q., as they call them in the British army. These officers of the British army were perfectly splendid in their attitude and in their desire to help. They said, in effect, that we could have anything we wanted. Well, we had considerable baggage that was out in the weather, and so my Quartermaster called up the O.R.Q. and said he wanted 27 trucks by 3 o'clock that afternoon at a little place called Bienbeau. Of course he spoke the American language, thinking that those Englishmen could understand it; whereupon the O.R.Q. said that the thing was impossible, that they could not get trucks to Bienbeau, and it finally developed that in the English language trucks are not trucks, they are lorries; (laughter) and trucks, with the English, are railway carriages. (Laughter) That, of course, was only the beginning, but after six months of service with the British army we not only acquired a reasonable degree of familiarity with that language but really we rather prided ourselves in our ability at the present time to speak it. (Laughter) That is what I mean when I say we know the English language and we like it, and we like the British people.

I would like to give you a little proof that will support the claim I have made concerning my knowledge of the English language. I had the rather remarkable experience, on one occasion during the war, of acting as an interpreter between an Englishman, a Major, and an American soldier. (Laughter) I do not know whether you people live so far away from the Mason and Dixon Line that you are entirely unfamiliar with the southern dialect, but I am going to chance it with you, because I think, from the number of Canadians I see around New York, most of you are as familiar with the southern dialect as perhaps I am. This is not a story, but an actual occurrence which happened up near Ypres.

My Division was in the line, and next to it was the other American Division, the 30th, that served throughout with the British, and the personnel of that Division was almost exclusively from the mountains of Tennessee and the Carolinas. We were walking along the road through Popering, and it was a road inside the German observation point of the balloons, but they would not annoy people walking on that road if not more than one or two were in sight at the time; so I went along with my A.D.C. following me, about 200 yards, I ahead of him, and I saw ahead of me a British officer, and ahead of him evidently an American, from his walk and his get-up. I saw the British officer evertake the American, and some conversation followed, and I seemed to be getting a little too close for comfort under the unwritten rules of the game, so I stepped behind a tree and watched them. I called out to my aid that there seemed to be some kind of convention going on ahead, and we had better push on. I noticed that the British officer seemed impatient. He took a map out and held it in front of the soldier's face, and shook it in his face, then looked around disconsolately and shrugged his shoulders. Finally he saw me approaching. I noticed that this officer —was what they call in the British army, a "brass 'at"—he came from very, very far in the rear somewhere in the army—and he did not seem to know the danger he was in. That thought was framed a moment later, when, having looked me over, and having seen by the two stars and epaulette that I was some kind of a general, he cracked out one of those British salutes—you will all remember them —and said, " Good-awfternoon, sir," and I said, "Good afternoon." He said, "I beg your pawdon, sir, but as a matter of fact I am lost, do you see." (Laughter) All this time the soldier—a big, tall, lanky fellow from the mountains of Tennessee, which were written all over him from his feet up to his tin hat—stood there at attention—about six and a half feet up. (Laughter) I said, "Maybe I can tell you." The Major replied, "Oh, thanks very much; as a matter of fact, sir, it is a most amazing thing; I have been asking this man here where I am, and all that; does he speak English, sir?" (Laughter) So I looked at this man and said, "Where do you belong to?" He replied, "The 30th Division, suh." "What regiment?" "119th Infantry, suh." While I was talking to the soldier the English Major looked at me and watched my lips; then he looked at the soldier's lips, looked back at me, and finally turned to me dumbfounded and said, "I beg your pawdon, sir, but is he speaking English?" Well, if you must have my answer as literally given to him it was ',Hell, no, he's speaking American. (Laughter) The Major brightened up then, and said, "Oh, that's it?" Then he suddenly stopped and smiled out of the corner of his eyes and said, "Oh, but I beg your pawdon, sir, you are not spoofing me, are you?" (Great laughter)

I think an outstanding lesson of the war, so far as the English-speaking people are concerned, is the manner in which they pulled together for the accomplishment of their common purposes. (Hear, hear, and applause) It really was inspiring, and to me in a sense it has been more inspiring since that time than it seemed during the war, when we were so occupied and so intense in our activities and endeavours that time was inadequate for the proper reflection and appreciation of what it was that we were doing and how we were co-ordinaing our efforts. But I have been very much impressed with what is possible of accomplishment in this world, since the war, and since we have had time to permit our thoughts to dwell upon the way in which we worked together during the war.

Of course we had our rivalries. The British army —very properly so—was full of that splendid sportsmanship that is called out in competition, and it manifests itself in many ways, as we know. We entered into the spirit of the thing. Of course we found that sometimes the rivalries got a little out of hand, and seemed to disconcert some of the British generals. I recall that there seemed to be a great deal of rivalry between the Australians and New Zealanders as to who could raise the greatest disturbance back of the line when they came out of the line. From all I heard about them in the war they seemed to be very keen competitors in that amusing field of activity—although not always amusing for the inhabitants.

It is said that on one occasion Sir Douglas Haig was in the little town of Vhlanerding, on the Somme, and alighted from his horse to make some small purchases in one of the little shops, and he passed a group of tall Australians leaning against the corner of the building. Being "Anzies"—free and independent souls—of course none of them came to attention; none of them saluted; the cigarettes remained in their mouths. Sir Douglas Haig passed them, and was about to enter the shop when he said to himself, "This won't do; I have chided too many of my own officers about neglect of disciplining these Australians; I will discipline them myself." Then he said, "Well, perhaps they didn't see me; I will walk by them again." So he did, and with the same result; whereupon he turned around and addressed the group somewhat as follows:—"I don't know whether you men know it or not, but I happen to be Sir Douglas Haig, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Forces. I have been a soldier all my life, and I have seen the armies in every part of the world. I just want you men to know that in that long experience I have never met or seen such an ill-mannered, undisciplined, disorganized mob as you Australians; that's all." He turned on his heel, and was walking away, when the tallest of the group, with his coat unbuttoned, took the cigarette out of his mouth and called after him and said, "Hey, General, wait a minute; you want to tell that to the New Zealanders; they'll be as sore as hell!" (Laughter)

Of course war is a dreadful experience; it is a calamity, but nevertheless I think that the Canadians and Americans—whether untrue or not—were credited with having livened up the war a little. Wherever they went, people's faces brightened. There seemed to be a little greater confidence among the inhabitants; not only so, but there seemed to be a little more joy in the hearts of people. Perhaps it was because the soldiers represented a a new people in a sense a new country, with greater optimism, that had newer ways, that came from the great open spaces, and all that sort of thing. Whatever may have been the cause, it always seemed to me that the Frenchman carried on his part in the war with great solemnity, and it seemed to my eyes that the same comment could justly be made in relation to the British that I saw. Of course they had every reason to carry that dreadful burden of sacrifice without very much gladsomeness in their hearts.

Of course the Canadians were called upon to make much greater sacrifice than we were. You got in without any delay, which we cannot say was the case with us. However, in spite of the sacrifices, Canadians seemed to have carried that spirit as did the Americans—that spirit of humor which they injected now and then into situations that would otherwise be worse than they really were. I think this attitude to which I refer as being rather characteristic of the Canadian and the American, is exemplified by the keenness which marked the zeal of our soldiers in relation to acquiring souvenirs. (Laughter) No matter how dreadful the particular battle-situation might be, the Canadian and the American soldier was always alert to acquire a real souvenir.

I had confirmation of that on one occasion when I was east of Amiens. I wanted to get some prisoners for personal interrogation, so the first two or three that we captured were rushed down to my post of command. There they were. They looked as though they had been hung in asbestos wraps and dangled around in the bottom of Inferno. They were scratched up, they were exhausted, their eyes bulged out of their heads. One, especially, had no tin hat. He looked more like a retired college professor than a soldier. (Laughter) There he stood, trembling all over, without a button on his clothes. He was holding his coat in one hand and his breeches in the other. He had been through this attack, and each line that he passed on coming to the rear frisked him—(laughter)—to use the police department nomenclature—taking everything he had, and when he got back to the military police they took the buttons and the shoulder straps. There he was. He looked very pitiful. I was looking around for some one of my men who could speak German, and an Irishman came up and said, "Hello Fritz," The prisoner came to attention and said he was German; and the Irishman asked him, "Sprachen se American?" The German replied that he could not speak English only a little, and the Irishman went on and asked, "Now can you tell me what everyone is fighting for. What are the English fighting for? What are the French fighting for? What do you think we are fighting for? What do you think you are fighting for?" Fritz replied, "Well, I tell you. We Germans are fighting for the Fatherland. The English, well, he must be fighting for his king. The Frenchman, too, he fights for La Belle France; but the Canadians the Australians and the Americans, mine Gott, they must be fighting for souvenirs. (Great laughter)

Our service with the British army was so pleasant and so harmonious that I recall only one occasion when there was even an intimation that any complaint existed from the British sources regarding my Division. On the occasion to which I refer I was going down the road on the afternoon of the first day of a battle, and I was overtaken by a British officer who belonged to a corps to which I was attached, and he was a Scotchman. We know Scotchmen.—You Canadians, and some Americans—and we know they have a sense of humor (laughter), but they blanket it with a face that does not always indicate the extent of their appreciation. (Laughter) I never knew whether this Scotchman was trying to pull my leg or whether he was serious, but he came along and asked me how things were going. I said they seemed to be going all right, and I asked him how he found them. He said, "They're goin' verra guid, but I hear complaint about your men." Well I was a little bit disturbed, but I asked, "What is the complaint?" He replied, "Well, I heard it on the road back apiece." He went on to explain that there were a number of prisoners taken by the 27th Division, and they were turned over to the British corps whose officer was in charge of prisoners; and it seemed that the complaint emanated from the Scotch sergeant who made the actual count of the prisoners, in making the report to his corps officer. I asked, "What was the complaint? What did he say?" The Scotchman replied, "Weel, all I heard him say was this—"Aw've been all over these prisoners; there is a great number of them taken by these Americans, but Aw'll say, sir, they're verra poor pickin'!" (Great laughter) From what we have sometimes heard about one of the Scotch characteristics you can see how hard hit that sergeant was. (Laughter)

Of course I am not going to make a serious plea in a gathering of this kind for peace and amity and understanding between the United States and Canada. That would be ridiculous. I prefer to convey to you in a more subtle way my own sentiments, through the medium of some of these little incidents. When people can afford to rag each other and josh each other about their distinctive characteristics you need never have any fear about their relations. (Hear, hear, and applause)

But, of course, when the average man gets up to make a talk about the relations between Canada and the United States, and how pleasant they are, how they should be preserved, there always comes a time—the thrilling period that everyone knows is coming—when he talks about that long boundary line—(laughter)—without a Krupp gun on it or anything else offensive or defensive—I don't know about offensive, because we have those guards on our side of the river, though they don't hurt you people any—(laughter)—they only annoy us. (Laughter)

However, that navy we have on the lake, or that you have, or that both of us have—I have not heard anything about it lately—when I heard about that navy that we jointly maintained there it reminded me of the Irish navy that I heard about. I don't know whether this story came up here or not.

You remember that long period after the war broke out—it must have seemed very long to all the other English-speaking people—that preceded our entry into the war. We had little wars down in New York during that period from 1914 to 1917; and those wars had to do with bill-boards that announced the war's events of the day. Great crowds would gather outside very frequently, and would often come to blows, one group being Anti-British, and the other Pro-British, or Anti-German and Pro-German, and so on. Well, it seems that in one of the saloons bordering on such a street where such a crowd was gathered an Irishman was sitting at a table enjoying a drink—that could be done in those days in New York. After he had swallowed a couple of whiskies he noticed two mechanics, one German, the other English, apparently old friends, standing at the bar and drinking ale and beer, and having a very fierce argument about the merits of the war. Several times they almost came to blows, and the Irishman leaned forward with expectation in his eyes, but nothing happened. Finally the argument got on the subject of the relative merits of the British navy and the German navy, and the Englishman asked, "Well, why don't they come out? They are just like a rat in the trap there; they don't dare to come out, that's why." German Fritz said, "Why, that's strategy; that's over the Englishman's head (laughter); but when we do come out, mine Gott, there won't be any English navy!" (Laughter) Well, the men almost came to blows after that, and finally the Irishman, who had taken five or six drinks, not being able to stand the strain any longer, came up from his table and approached these two, and putting his hand on the Englishman's shoulder said, "Leave this Dutchman to me." Looking at the German he said, "Strategy? Well, when your ships come out and wipe the English navy off the map—I'll admit that will happen—then what?" The German replied, "Well, then what? Well, then the war is won, isn't it?" The Irishman replied, "Ah, it's only beginning for you, for then you'll have to lick the Irish navy!" (Laughter) Of course by that time Pat was pretty well stewed, and his Gaelic imagination had conjured up this wonderful Irish navy, but the German almost triumphantly shrieked at him, "The Irish navy? The Irish navy? Mine Gott, where is it?" Well, that was quite a sockdolager for Pat, but Pat was was a very resourceful Gael, and he looked at this fellow very suspiciously, and he says, "You ask me where it is? You ask me? You don't think I would tell you, you damned German spy!" (Great laughter)

It must seem a very extraordinary thing to you people to find in the world to-day this really great organization slowly but surely developing its power for the maintenance of peace in the world, and to find that we are no part of it—I mean our United States—except unofficially. But perhaps there are no people in the world more capable of understanding the condition which confronts us in our country in relation to that subject and its importance than Canadians, because you have so intimate a relation with us, and so accurate a knowledge of our politics and our interests. You also have, of course, what the average European has not—because it applies to your own country here—the extent to which people who live west of the Alleghenny Mountains believe themselves to be free and independent of the rest of the world and its problems. But I am one of those optimists who believe the time is not far off when in some way or other the United States will

—tardiily it may be, but nevertheless I hope effectively—take its place with the other civilized people in membership in that League of Nations. (Hear, hear, and applause)

Of course there are some people who believe in the principle of the League of Nations, but who are not enthusiastic about its ultimate accomplishment, because they have in mind certain fundamental traits of human nature, and they have doubts about the possibility of circumventing the activities of those human emotions. They urge that man is, by instinct, by heredity, a fighting animal; that we live in a world where the real survivor of the fittest must prevail; that we have always had war, therefore wars we shall always have. Of course I think those statements have their effect only upon tired minds, or people with superficial knowledge of psychology, of political economy and of heredity; because the fact is that because we have always had war it is not logical to hold that therefore we shall always have it, any more than that as we always had slavery until recently therefore slavery would always exist, and because man had never flown, therefore he never would fly. The same remark would apply to duelling.

I think it is an outstanding fact in history that peoples and governments from the earliest times have always prepared for and have been organized for war, and very largely they have gotten what they were organized for; but now for the first time in the history of the world, the world is really organized for peace. (Hear, hear, and applause) Heretofore I do think the advocates of peace from generation to generation back, universally, have exhausted themselves and expanded themselves in the cause of peace with prayers for the co-operation of heaven—well enough in themselves, but ineffective because of the existence in the heart and breast of man of those emotions that we have heard of.

There must be control, there must be organization, and that is what we are getting in the world now for the first time; and there must be back of that organization at least the threat of force, of compulsion, and it must apply to the United States just the same as it applies to the individual in the United States who is a law-abiding citizen. (Applause) All that principle asks is that whether it be an individual or a nation, that it comply with the law. Failure to comply with the law brings the penalty that is agreed upon. That proposition is so fair that when it is understood by the people in the United States, when they get around to it, they will meet it. They will meet it in the same way as they have met obligation in the World War—tardily, perhaps, but certainly with zeal and with loyalty. That is my conviction. (Hear, hear, and applause)

Therefore, I would leave with you, in closing, this thought—that you good people up here in Canada bear with us; apply that Christian spirit of forbearance when you think of our tardiness in relation to our world obligations. It is so easy to be a Christian and render lip-service only; it is so mightily hard to be a Christian and live up to that fundamental rule of Christianity that we must forbear with our neighbour. That is the thought I would leave with you, and in leaving it I will close with a little incident that happened down in that part of New York where I come from, in Westchester County. Two natives were discussing the war and its effect upon Christianity, and the failure of Christianity to prevent such an agony. One man was decrying Christianity to this farmer who was sitting on a cracker-box whittling a stick. He really denounced Christianity; it was a fake; it never stopped war. He talked along, and old Silas kept whittling the stick. After a while the speaker said, "Well, what do you think of it? Don't you think it's a failure?" Old Silas replied, "No, I don't think it's a failure." The other asekd, "Why not?" Old Silas replied, "Well, it hain't never bin tried yit!" (Laughter and applause)

MR. JUSTICE RIDDELL voiced the thanks of the Club in an eloquent plea for forbearance with the United States, whose people would undoubtedly do their full duty in regard to the League of Nations, as they had done in the war. With great effect he quoted from a poem by Phillips-Wooley, a British Columbian poet who recently died. It was easy for us Canadians, he remarked, with all our British traditions, to cry:—

Hear, Oh mother of Nations,
In your battle of Right and Wrong,
The voice of your youngest nation,
Chanting her battle-song.

Blood of your best you gave us,
Gave us that we might live;
Blood of our best we offer,
Best of our youth we give.

'Tis the price of a nation's manhood
We offer to pay the debt;
Did you think, Oh Mother of Nations,
That Canada could forget?

And when by the side of Justice
Victory will take its stand,
And when pallid Peace is brooding
Over our troubled land.

We will think the cost but little,
Glad of the chance to pay,
For the bond of a stronger Empire,
For the dawn of a better day.

Go forth, Oh Mother of Nations,
To your battle of Right and Wrong,
The voice of your youngest nation,
Chanting her battle-song.

(Loud applause)

SOUTH AFRICA

AN ADDRESS BY MR. A. H. TATLOW, MANAGER, PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT, SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS, JOHANNESBURG.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October 16, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker of the day.

Mr. Tatlow was received with applause and said:

Mr. Chairman, My Lord Bishop (referring to Dr. Headland, Bishop of Gloucester, England), *and Gentlemen,*—I should first of all like to thank the members of the Empire Club of Canada for their kind invitation to me to be a guest at your luncheon and speak to this assembly. I share fully the regrets of the Chairman that my slides are not here, for I feel that they would have spoken to you much more eloquently than it is possible for me to do. But there it is; I am here and the slides are in New York, and we will have to make the best of it.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that since my arrival in New York some three weeks ago I have found with many of the men to whom I have talked that there is only a vague idea of what South Africa really is. I remember being at a luncheon some months ago at which the Governor of Nigeria was speaking, and by way of trying to indicate to the assembly that Nigeria seemed to be very little understood he told of two men who were talking about Burma, and a third man, over-

---

Mr. A. H. Tatlow is manager of the Publicity Department of the South African Railways and Harbours, and is connected with the office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa.

hearing the conversation said, "Burma, Burma? Why, my brother was talking to me about Burma the other day, but he pronounced it 'Bermuda.'" Now, I do not for a moment wish to suggest that there is such deplorable ignorance as that about South Africa, but still it does seem to me that it is time that South Africa woke up and made her country and her resources a little better known.

Africa has always seemed to me to be an enigma of the continents. It was the first continent to be discovered, and it is the last continent to be explored. If you leave out the discovery of South Africa somewhere about the middle of the seventeenth century, of the whole record of Africa itself there is an authentic account of only a little of the northern fringe. Then you know that was the Africa of the Pharaohs, of the Hannibals, of Augustine, and of Anthony and Cleopatra. Those early colonists of Africa failed to impress themselves upon the continent. They seemed to be absorbed, rather, by the darker blood; and so it came about that in the course of time the scene shifted from the northern to the southern end.

I sometimes think that the discovery of South Africa was more the result of cause and effect. You will recall the struggle that was going on about the middle or end of the fifteenth century between the Cross and Crescent, and that it was owing to the efforts of those early Portuguese navigators endeavoring to find a way round to the East Indies where they found the Mussulmans were getting their wealth, that South Africa was discovered.

If you would understand South Africa at all you must reflect on two or three very elementary matters, and such physical facts as its climate, its rainfall, because, after all, in the last resort, what we eat, and what we drink, and where withal we shall be clothed depend very much upon these primary matters. If I could bring to your mind a picture of the map of South Africa you would see that starting from Cape Town and following the eastern coastline of the Indian Ocean, there is a long range of mountains known as the Drakensberg Mountains, which run in a continuous line for 2,000 miles to the Limpopo River, which divides the northern Transvaal from southern Rhodesia. Those mountains play an important part in the economic life of South Africa, for the reason that our prevailing winds and rains come from the south and the southeast. The wind-bearing clouds are precipitated against the buttress wall of the Drakensberg with the result that the much larger rainfall goes to the eastern side of that watershed of South Africa. Indeed so varied is the rainfall that on the eastern side of the Drakensberg you can get as much as 100 inches of rain per year in favored parts of the east coast, and if you go to the Atlantic side, to a little place called Walfish Bay, you get as little as half an inch of rain in a year. Put it another way—on the eastern side of the Blakensberg you could feed 30 sheep on one acre of ground, and on the far side it would take 30 acres to feed one sheep. The sparse rainfalls account for the fact that the rivers of South Africa are useless for navigation. We are in quite a different position from your favored land, where you have wonderful waterways, while we have practically none. Our ships right in from the ocean front into our harbors.

There is another very important physical feature of South Africa, and this is its high average elevation. While Africa has the same average elevation as Asia, the latter has the loftiest mountains in the world. Its elevation is twice as high as that of Australia, and one-third higher than Europe, and nearly one-third higher than America, north or south. When you remember that for every 300 feet you ascend the temperature drops one degree, you will then see that the Union of South Africa, which in parts would otherwise be very hot, the heat is greatly modified by this average high elevation of 4,000 feet above the sea. That is a point which it is well for those who contemplate settling in South Africa, to remember, and that though our country being more or less in a sub-tropical area, the heat is, as a matter of fact, very greatly modified.

Now a word or two about our population, because therein lies one of our greatest problems. The area known as South Africa comprises what we call Southwest Africa—which at one time was German West Africa—has a total area of something like 800,000 square miles. In the whole of that country we have only a little over 1,500,000 white people, or about one-sixth of the population of Canada, while in the same area we have something like 5,500,000 black people, or natives. This constitutes one of our problems—a huge territory, a small and almost stationary white population, and a larger and growing black population.

I would remind you that in connection with the native population there are also several other human problems; not only the problem of the advancing natives—because, gentlemen, you cannot for all time keep these people back; the best you can do is to regulate and nurse them, so to speak, so that in their development they shall move slowly and in such a way as not to be a hurt or a menace to their white neighbors.

Then we have our Asiatic problem, because years ago the Province of Natal brought Indians to work in the sugar-cane fields. That is a position surrounded with difficulties. Then in Cape Town and the Peninsula itself we have also another form of the colour question, in that there are a large number of half-breeds, and the position they occupy in the social economy is a matter that gives our statesmen very considerable and anxious thought.

Turning now from these matters, which are of importance, I should like to say a word or two about the possibilities of the Union of South Africa. All who know that country are agreed that its agricultural development is one of its most important assets. It is true that South Africa, as a schoolboy essayist once wrote, is famous for gold and diamonds and Smuts. (Laughter) It is true that South Africa has been for years known as a country producing gold and diamonds, but you should know that her greatest asset lies and will continue to lie for many years to come in her agricultural development. It is a country which, owing to its varying climates and varying altitudes, can grow almost anything. Its staple crop is maize, or what in this country you call corn. It is a crop that grows in almost all parts of our country. Through the railway department, maize is now handled in bulk, and in the last few years in various parts of the country grain elevators have been built to grade and handle that crop, and it is now being shipped overseas in bulk instead of in bags as formerly.

Wool is our next important export. In wool and mohair we rank next to Australia. It will not serve very much purpose to give you figures, because you have to remember that any modest statistics about South Africa which might be quoted find their root cause in the fact of the very limited white population to which I have already referred.

There is another crop that is going to become an important export from South Africa, and that is cotton. We are growing cotton in various parts of the eastern Transvaal, in Natal and in Zululand, and from the latest reports it would seem that in the near future South Africa is going to be one of the greatest cotton producing countries, not only of the Dominions but of the world.

Then as to sugar, it is not many years ago since South Africa was importing sugar, but to-day she grows all the sugar she consumes, and every year she is increasing the margin for export.

Of course you know that South Africa is a fruit-growing country, and I sometimes wonder whether we could not find a market for some of our oranges not only in Canada but in the United States. Our oranges come into ripeness about June and July, and that seems to me to be the real season of the year for orange eating in this northern hemisphere; and one hopes that as there is already a dried fruit export to Canada and the United States, that it will not be long before fresh fruit, particularly in the form of oranges, can find a market in this great continent.

Then Tobacco, both the Turkish and the Virginian leaf, is grown in the Union, and practically all the tobacco consumed in South Africa is grown in the country. There is not much export, owing largely to trade relations which at the present moment seems to militate against expansion in that direction.

Then I should not overlook the fact that South Africa is one of the few great countries for ostrich breeding and for the ostrich feather industry. In the South African pavilion at Wembley Exhibition there was a very fine collection of ostrich feathers, and I am told by our trades commissioner that there is an increasing market, and a very important one, in the United States. I hope the feathers are finding their way into Canada. They seem to have come back into favour and fashion, and certainly it is a very beautiful form of adornment, while to South Africa, at any rate, the industry represents between two and three million pounds sterling per year.

With regard to South Africa's minerals, of course you know that the mines at Kimberly and Pretoria produce practically the entire world's diamond supply. South Africa is also producing something like half of the world's gold supply, although I am told by a friend sitting in front of me that Canada hopes soon to be a competitor. (Hear, hear, and applause) Of course the gold industry has given very much to South Africa and from the latest returns I have received the output this year will be a record one, exceeding probably $40,000,000.

Unfortunately our general industries lag for the reason that our white population is so limited. We have such a small local market that it is very difficult to get industries established on an economic basis. That is why we want visits from you people of this country and also from those of the United States, and by the provision of capital and experience see if you cannot give us a hand in developing the resources of South Africa.

South Africa is fortunate in having unlimited coal supplies. While in England I asked an official of the Great Western Railway Company what he paid for the best South Wales coal at pit-mouth, and his answer was about 25 shillings a ton. Well, I believe I am quite right in saying that the South African Railway buy their coal at the pit-mouth of the colleries in the Transvaal at something like five shillings per ton, and I want to remind you that that coal is only a fraction below the best South Wales coal in quality. The development of industries is however receiving the most careful consideration and at this very moment there is now erecting a a large power station in Natal for generating current to provide power for such industries as may be started.

Durban, the port of Natal, is one of our biggest bunkering ports, and next month there will be open in Natal a section of the railways about 200 miles long to be worked by electrification power. Other districts where the traffic is heavy, and on suburban lines running around Cape Town, electrification transport will later be introduced.

So far as base metals are concerned, South Africa has its share; but after all, gentlemen, great as is our country, and the possibilities of its agricultural and industrial development, one of its greatest assets is the scenery and the sunshine. I may be addressing some people who have visited us, but nearly everyone who comes to us tells us how wonderfully favorably they are impressed. It is a haunting country, infinitely mysterious, infinitely beautiful and infinitely strange. We have every kind of foliage, from the pine to the palm; we have every race, from the Orient to the Occident; and we have almost every climate, from the temperate to the tropic. There are features of scenic beauty in Africa which I do not think can be eclipsed by anything even you have. I have yet to see some of your beautiful scenery; I am starting to-morrow for Vancouver, and I hope to see some of the great scenic wonders of Canada of which I have read; but I would remind you that we have in our Drakensberg mountains one of Nature's finest spectacles. In the Victoria falls we have one of the wonders of the world, falls 424 feet high and more than a mile wide—a little bigger than Niagara; in fact, I have been told by an American that, in comparison, Niagara is only a presiration. (Laughter)

I should not close without a word about the Department to which I have the privilege to belong—the Railways and Harbors Department. In South Africa we have something like 12,000 miles of railway lines, state-owned. In Sir William Hoy, the General Manager, we have a man who is progressive in his policy and conduct of the Railway Department. Although Government management is depricated in some countries, I can safely say that private enterprises would never have done for South Africa what the Railway Administration has accomplished. The policy of the Department has been to carry a large number of passengers and a big freightage at low rates and low fares, rather than to carry a smaller percentage of passengers and a smaller volume of goods at high rates. That policy has gone far to develop a new sparsely populated country. I venture to think that travelling in South Africa is in every way as comfortable as it is in your own great country, and I think I am right in saying it is not quite so expensive, when you reckon all the dollars added to ordinary railway fares for drawing room and sleeping cars and compartments. The gauge of the South African railways is 3.6 feet, but owing to the overhang of our coaches the seating space is as generous as you find in the 4.8½ gauge. During the last ten years the Railway Department has surrendered something like three millions sterling of revenue to bring down rates and fares. The Railway Department also controls the harbors, and is busy developing them, and to-day at Durban there is nearing completion one of the largest graving docks in the world in which the biggest ships afloat can find refuge and repairs.

My mission in this country is to endeavor to see whether travel cannot be stimulated between Canada and South Africa and between the United States and South Africa. We feel that if we could only persuade you people of the North to come and see us in the South the result would be good for both; that we would understand each other better; trade relations would gradually become established and improved, and all these things would make for mutual benefit. We know that there are difficulties in the way. We are 9,000 or 10,000 miles distant from you. We are at the southern end of a southern continent while you are at the northern end of a northern continent; yet difficulties are only there to be overcome. So far as South Africa is concerned we want to find if we can get a place in the world's cruise lists and programmes. In all the notices I have seen of so-called world's cruises, South Africa does not appear to be on the map. We hope to get that rectified. As I said to the Canadian Pacific Railway officials at Montreal the other day, the radio, telegraph, dirigibles and aeroplanes have contracted the world and you cannot for long keep South Africa out of the world's cruise list, for from hearing you will want to see, and when we do find a place there we hope that in the next few years we shall have a steady stream of North Americans visiting South Africa; and I can assure you, gentlemen, that South Africa will give you a very hearty welcome. (Applause)

MR. F. B. FEATHERSTONHAUGH voiced the thanks and appreciation of the Club for the interesting and helpful address.

SOME NEW ELEMENTS IN BRITISH POLITICS

AN ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN BUCHAN, LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October 23, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause.

MR. JOHN BUCHAN.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I feel it a great honour and privilege to be with you to-day. I have often heard of your luncheon clubs. They always seem to me the last word in hospitality, for at them you not only entertain and feed the casual stranger but you allow him to inflict his views upon you. (Laughter)

Your president has very kindly introduced me in words which are flattering. I ought to tell you that there is a very different and much darker side to that question. I remember when I was a candidate for my own county in Scotland. My predecessor was a young Etonian of most delightful manners but who did not know the language and the people as well as I did, and at a certain sheep sale an old shepherd, a strong supporter of mine, came up and patted me on the back. He said, "Mr. Buchan, we have gotten the right sort of candidate in you.

Mr. Buchan was educated at Glasgow University and Brasenose College, Oxford, (First Class, Lit. Hum.) He was Secretary to Lord Milner, 1901-03; on the Headquarters Staff of the British Army in France, 1916-17; and Director of Information under the Prime Minister, 1917-18. As an author he has many books to his credit. These include history, biography, poetry, economics, novels, etc. He is a barrister, and is a member of Thomas Nelson & Sons, publishers, and Deputy-Chairman of Reuters.

Your predecessor was an awfully nice man, but he was far too much of a gentleman and far too honest." (Laughter)

Now, having put things upon a proper basis—(laughter)—I am bound to confess that I found it rather difficult to decide what to talk about to-day. You see, if I were to give you my hasty trivial impressions of your great country, you would rightly regard them as impertinence. I have the fortune, or misfortune, to still have a good many different professions. So I was in doubt as to whether as a lawyer I was to talk to you about law, or as a kind of soldier to talk to you about war, or as a Scotch business man to talk to you about business, or as a kind of man-of-letters to talk to you about literature—but I think I will stay on that safer ground which is common to everybody, the government of our country. I mean "our country"—mine, not yours. (Voices: Yes, ours too)

I have an extraordinary privilege not to be a member of the British House of Commons, but all my life I have been compelled to be a fairly close student of politics.

I found when I was in the States a great deal of misapprehension existing about the present position in British politics caused by the appearance in office of the Labor party. I know that, of course, here you are infinitely better informed than those across the southern border, but I thought perhaps it might be useful if I gave you my impressions of the meaning of labor's advent to power and short tenure of power.

As you know, it is a thing unheard of in our history. It has had many immediate interesting results. One result has been to stimulate into politics many of the younger men. Three years ago the ordinary young man who fought in the war would not have touched politics with a ten-foot pole. To-day he is keen to go into Parliament. There seems to be more sporting interest, better chances, a wider horizon than under the old rule of the orthodox party machines. Then, again, I think that the labour ministers with their simple humour and their often unconventional outlook have introduced a very pleasant element of humour in our political life. For example, a very distinguished minister last summer announced one day that he intended to appoint a head of committee. Nobody had any idea what he meant by the "head of committee," because the subject had nothing to do with fisheries, but after he had been talking about this committee for a fortnight some genius suddenly discovered that he meant "ad hoc" committee." (Laughter)

I can assure you it is rather a pleasure in the House of Commons after the ordinary classic language of Oxford and Cambridge to listen to the full and interesting and honest dialect which you hear from the labour members. But the paradox remains; here is a government whose creed is definitely socialistic which has been put into power and maintained in power by two parties who abhor socialism. Moreover, here is a government which, in spite of its creed, has conducted affairs with very considerable success and very much in the same line as the older governments. If socialism is red ruin and the breaking up of laws, surely all this looks very like playing with fire.

Gentlemen, I want to say first of all something about British socialism. I think it is quite different from the continental variety. It is much more an economical idea than a political creed. I mean by that, that while a British socialist believes that things would be very much better if all capital and means of production were socialized, he has no very great zeal to put his creed into practice. He may hold this or that theory but before he takes action he wants to be very sure of his ground.

You know, the British people have a most astonishing talent for compromise. A very good example happened—you probably remember it—in the case of the Military Service Bill which became law in the beginning of the year 1916. When that bill was before the House of Commons, it appeared that the workingmen of Britain were altogether opposed to compulsory service. First of all, you had a conference of labour delegates who by a majority of more than a million discarded the principle. Then you had the South Wales Miners, who announced "down tools," who passed a "down tools resolution" to give effect to their opposition. Then came the miners' conference which by a majority of half a million instructed the miners' members to oppose the bill. Then came the labour conference, when the bill had actually passed the House of Commons. That conference by a majority of more than a million approved of the war. By a small majority it disapproved of the bill. By a quite a large majority it agreed that it would not oppose the bill once it were passed into law and by an enormous majority it instructed three labour ministers to remain in the cabinet. That is British labour all over! They cannot give up in a moment the fake creed they have preached on a thousand platforms, but they are practical men and Englishmen and they can recognize compelling facts. If they cannot formally discard their theories, they can neglect them. (Laughter)

I want to say something further about the British Labour Party. Nominally it is socialistic, but in practice only a very small number of its members are actual socialists. I believe there is a very large anti-socialist majority amongst the British workingmen. British labour to-day, to my mind, represents far more a class than a creed.

The appearance of a Labour Government does not mean the emergence of a new policy or even a new ideal so much as emergence of class. It means that a class that has not heretofore been used in the government of the country is now coming into power.

Now, Gentlemen, I think that a very admirable thing. No country can afford to limit its election of rulers to one small social circle. Social rank has nothing whatever on earth to do with public competence. It is as absurd to make a miner a cabinet minister because he is a miner, as to make a duke a cabinet minister because he is a duke, but if duke or miner has requisite talent it does not matter a straw which you have. (Applause) Every country has now and then to have a pretty wholesome breaking down of class barriers if it is to be properly governed.

What made the Elizabethan age! Not the grandees, not the historic families, but the sea captains of Devon, who were mostly sons of small yeoman and farmers. (Applause) It looks to me as if the soil in the national garden every now and then becomes exhausted and you have to bring in virgin soil. (Hear, hear)

I want to say one or two things about this new class which has merged into public life. The first is that its members as a rule are well educated, but as a rule, also, they are ill-informed. I mean by that, that their minds have been well trained but their actual knowledge of things is scanty from a lack of conventional education.

Take the ordinary labour member who goes into parliament and becomes a minister. He has specialized as a rule in economics—not the most fruitful kind of economics—and he has also had, usually, a very fine administrative training in handling the affairs of a big union. After all, that is no slight training. A man who does that has very large funds to administer. He has consequently complicated questions of law to face and, above all, he must know how to handle men. But this labour minister in power very suddenly finds himself handicapped with lack of conventional knowledge. He will find whole regions of information entirely shut to him. He will have to get rid of many dogmas and discard many prejudices, but he is extremely quick to learn, for, as a rule, he suffers from his ignorance, lack of information, and decision of mind. He has very little of what Plato called the lion's soul.

I will give you an instance. The late Baldwin government left behind them a Scottish Conveyancing Act designed to remove some of the anomalies attending real property in Scotland. Well, at first the labour members would have nothing to do with it. They said, "It deals with property, a capitalistic thing; we are not going to touch it." But my friend, the Scottish Lord Advocate, got them together, including the stalwart brotherhood from the Clyde, and for the space of two hours he explained the bill to them. They listened with intense interest; they asked the most intelligent questions, and in the end they gave him a hearty vote of thanks. When the bill came up in the House of Commons there was a most extraordinary spectacle. One labour stalwart after another got up and defended it hotly and described its critics as ignorant men who did not know a good thing when they saw it. (Laughter) The result was that a Conservative bill dealing with question of property was passed into law in the teeth of Conservative members and Labour opposition by the more extreme members of the labour party. (Laughter)

The second thing I want to say to you, this new class, representing a class rather than a creed, contains every type of mind, but I believe that the predominant type of man is conservative. It is perfectly true you have a certain number of dreary intellectuals who make themselves very vocal in the papers, but are wholly unrepresentative of the British workman and cut very little ice with him. The ordinary labour man is curiously conservative. I do not believe you will ever have much chance to see any real Bolshevism amongst the British labouring classes. (Applause) The Bolshevist wants to pull things up by the root. He is what the French call *derecine;* he wants to have no links with the past. The ordinary British workman wants to get his own roots down deeper—an aspiration with which I have every possible sympathy. He wants curative measures, as any man must, with the spectacle of unemployment before him. I think that on all moral matters his bias is really more conservative than the ordinary member of the Conservative party.

A typical example is his attitude towards the Royal family—the Labour party as a whole are enthusiastic about the throne. They are not sentimental about the throne—they have a sincere respect for their majesties. This is due to the extraordinary sense of strict constitutionalism of the king and queen. (Applause) Their majesties are persons who are understood by the ordinary man, and I think I may say that the ordinary man is understood by their majesties.

There is a story that the late Secretary for War, Mr. Welsh, when he was first appointed to the war office summoned a meeting of the Lieut.-Generals at the head of the army and told them, with some ferocity, that as long as he was in office he would tolerate no disloyalty to the throne. (Laughter) Now, the story may be an invention, but it is typical of a real attitude.

The other day I was talking to a distinguished Liberal statesman who, like many Liberal statesmen, is rather contemptuous of those simple human relations and he said to me with some bitterness that the attitude of the Labour party towards the throne was not merely royalist, it was Jacobite, but I personally see very little harm in that.

The third thing I want to say about this new class is this: I think a very large part of the secret of the British talent and genius for politics is national patience and good humour. You remember Clarendon in the 17th century talks about their good nature—a good word which cannot be translated into any other language and scarcely practised by any other nation. (Laughter)

Now, just because the Labour party are so essentially English, I think they have a very large share of this good humour. They can laugh at themselves. They have not got the bitter asceticism of continental socialism, and as long as a man can laugh at himself, I am really not very much afraid of what he is going to do. I think you will find that humour everywhere , even in unlikely places. Even the labour colleges, which contain the most solemn intellectuals, are not without it. I remember being present at a Christmas entertainment at one of them, and it consisted of an elaborate and really funny parody of Karl Marx.

One thing more I want to say, the Labor party as a whole have imagination. They suffer from restricted outlook and very often inadequate education. A whole province of life is sealed to them, but once the doors are opened it is extraordinary how quickly imagination is to kindle. One result is, I think, that the Labour party as a whole may be said to have really accepted the British Empire. I do not mean that I may not differ—we all may differ from their Imperial policy. That is not the point. The point is that I think they have really accepted the Empire as a basis of all British policy.

Many a man, who in opposition used to rave against Imperial schemes as a device of the rich for obscuring social reform, is now enthusiastic for Imperial development.

I saw the other day that the Bolshevist congress at Moscow had condemned the British Empire on the ground that it was pacifist and democratic.—One of the very few instances I think in which Moscow may be said to have spoken the truth. (Laughter) I entirely agree. The British Empire is the best defence against their half-witted schemes, and I think British labour is coming around to the view, or has come around to the view, that the Empire is the cause of peace and democracy. (Applause)

As Imperialists they have a great Empire. They do not take things for granted. The Empire is to them a new discovery and they have all the enthusiasm of pioneers. I would far rather leave the security of our Imperial possessions in their hands than in the hands of some of the mid-Victorian disciples of the late Mr. Cobden. I would far rather leave India in their hands than in the hands of such a man. When Mr. Macdonald the other day was asked to surrender the Soudan to Egypt he gave answer which every honest British man would have given—"Not one single acre." (Applause) And, moreover, they do not take things for granted. They ar sincerely interested, the best of them, in discovering the right kind of Imperial machinery which is necessary under the new and true view of Empire—an Empire of independent nations. I do not say that the late Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Thomas, had not his faults, but I do not think that any man brought to his task a more practical, a more enthusiastic and a more vigorous mind since the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain.

Now, Gentlemen, what I have been saying has been high praise. I could say a great deal on the other side. I altogether differ from the economic doctrines of the Labor party, and some of the elements in it, I detest.

The other day I had the honor of talking with the President of the United States and he said: "What strikes me from reading the papers is that our political campaigns are conducted here in a more gentlemanlike spirit than yours in England." (Laughter) I suppose he was referring to these constant reports of rowdies at meetings. Well, that is all very scandalous, but I do not honestly think you can saddle the Labour party, as a party, with those misdemeanors.

There is a great deal to be said against the Labour party. I am not going to prophesy about the result of the election, but I most sincerely hope they won't come into power with a working majority, but I do emphatically believe that their short time in office during the last six months has been a most fortunate and fruitful event. For one thing they can never again be a purely propaganda party. They know now some thing of the difficulties, of the intricacies of the practical task of government. In the second place, their coming has released for our benefit a great reservoir of new talent for public life, and in the third place, as I have said, I think the Labor party have definitely committed themselves to a sound Imperialism, to the view that the Empire is the basis of all policy.

I am speaking now not as a British Conservative but as a believer in the Empire, and that to me is really the vital point. In this great Commonwealth of Nations of ours, governments must come and go, and very often the government of one unit may be very antipathetic on some social or economic issue to citizens of another community. This is bound to happen. You cannot have true economic unity without real variety and difference. It is no real concern of mine whether liberal or conservative is in power in Canada, or whether labour or liberal is in power in Australia or whether Jahn Smuts or Jahn Hertzog governs South Africa—nor is it any real concern of mine whether Mr. Baldwin or Mr. Lloyd George of Mr. Macdonald is Prime Minister of Britain, but there is one thing of the most vital concern to all of us, and that is, that whatever party and whatever leader may be in power in any dominion or in the mother country, that party and that leader shall accept the Empire as a basis of all policy, and shall be fully resolved to do nothing to impair the corporate spirit or weaken the unity of our great British League of Nations. (Great Applause)

HON. WALLACE NESBITT: Mr. President and gentlemen of the Empire Club, it is indeed a great privilege to be accorded the honor of moving a vote of thanks of this Club to Mr. Buchan.

I had already known him as brilliant. I have always conceived that his two great attributes were lucidity and terseness from his writings—the two great qualities, to my mind, of any writer, and you have had an example of it in his speech to-day. (Applause)

A more instructive resume of British politics and of Empire needs than we have had given us to-day by Mr. Buchan it would be almost imposible to conceive in the short space of time that he put at your disposal.

When I said "brilliant" was the attribute to be applied to Mr. Buchan, I meant it sincerely. England at the present time contains, to my mind, some half dozen of people who might be called supermen, and one of those is Mr. Buchan. (Applause) In almost every field he has acquired fame. His writings on the subject of the war you all know. His descriptions I think will probably stand when history comes to be written as extraordinarily accurate. They were extremely interesting during their monthly or periodical publication. But, in addition to all that, consider what he has done in other literary fields. In "Green Mantle" he has given us a glimpse of the politics of the east and the mystery of the east. In "Hunting Tower" he has discussed Scottish life, and particularly that curiously interesting people to me, the life of the boy scout, in a way that no other writer has ever come near. (Applause) In his Mid-Winter he has given us a revelation of Dr. Johnson which to my mind has revealed Dr. Johnson in a more lovable attitude even than his biographer Boswell.

I need only say with reference to his view of British politics, I have been in England during the last election—was there all the time. I was there for a considerable time this summer, and I think he has given you an extraordinarily accurate picture of conditions there and particularly, I think, his just representation of the leaders of the Labor party. If I might add one word of comment it would be only this—after meeting members of the Labor party since 1902—I would say what I said to Sir John Simon in 1911—I think their difficulty is what I might term "localism." That is to say—as Mr. Buchan has put it—they are misinformed on many subjects, although highly educated in others. I think they will get out of that, of course, but I think their great trouble is that many of them were extraordinarily tinctured with the idea of localism,—their own little local questions absorb all their attention. I quite agree that their advent in English politics has been all to the good. (Hear, hear)

Gentlemen, I shall not take up your time more but offer to Mr. Buchan on behalf of the Empire Club our sincere thanks for his extremely instructive and extraordinarily well conceived speech today. (Applause)

THE BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION

A STUDY IN GEOGRAPHY, RESOURCES, AND CITIZENSHIP OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY S. R. PARSONS.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October 30, 1924.

MR. PARSONS was introduced by President Brooks, and was received with loud applause.

MR. S. R. PARSONS.

Mr. President and Fellow Members of the Empire Club,—I assure you I esteem it a very great honour to be asked to speak before this Club. I have a great subject but rather a difficult one to speak upon. It does not lend itself to anything like rhetorical effect of which I would be entirely innocent in any case; but it does go into a good deal of detail that is important in conection with the Great British Empire Exhibition. This morning my wife asked me if I had a good speech for the Club to-day, and I replied that I had not; that it was more like a report. She said, "Oh, don't tell them that, because you know that will put the 'kibosh' on it, and kill the whole thing." (Laughter) You married men here know the effect of a little remark like that on your self-complacency and conceit. I would like to say that really what I am about to give you is largely a report, and, as you understand, must be. I take it for granted that those who go to an Exhi-

---

Mr. Parsons is a widely known and highly esteemed citizen of Toronto. He is president of the British-American Oil Company, a past president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and was the representative of the Employers of Canada to the International Labour Conference of the League of Nations at Washington in 1919, and at Geneva in 1922. He is interested in social, religious and philanthropic work and his addresses on economic and social problems have been warmly commended.

bition desire first of all to see exhibits, next to see the buildings and grounds, and thirdly to see the people and their interests. Keeping these things in mind, I desire to give you, as completely as I can, a view of the Exhibition as I saw it, and, in doing so, you will understand that it is difficult to compress in a short space of time all that one sees in a great many days. I will ask the privilege of using my notes freely in order that I may get through; and in any case you know that parsons have a habit of doing that sort of thing. (Laughter)

First of all, let me say that the British Empire Exhibition is a great co-operative effort. From the beginning there was no thought of private gain in connection with it. The site is at Wembley, which is about a half-hour from Trafalgar Square, or any central point in London. Since I returned I have been asked how that Exhibition compares with our own Canadian National Exhibition. You will see that it is impossible to make such a comparison, except possibly in the grounds and buildings, but not in the exhibits. In Toronto we have an acreage of 240, and at Wembley they have 216. Here we have a beautiful site, right on the lake, and unsurpassed anywhere in the world for an exhibition, it seems to me. (Hear, hear) We have good buildings, splendid avenues, wide streets for walking or driving through. Wembley was looked upon as rather a temporary project, and the roads there were rather rough, while the conveniences and comforts were not as satisfactory as we have in Toronto. However, it is the exhibits particularly to which I wish to draw your attention.

The British Government buildings are of a permanent character, and are composed largely of concrete and steel; in fact, all of the buildings are made of concrete, stucco and steel. Concrete fulfills four conditions; architectural requirements, speedy construction, reliability, and economy. 200,000 tons of concrete were used without a single failure. It is said the cost of producing this Exhibition will be about fifty million dollars. It is really an empire in miniature. The streets and avenues were named by that great Imperialist, Rudyard Kipling. The late Lord Strathcona, Canada's Grand Old Man, is given credit for the suggestion to gather together the products of the British Empire in this manner in the year 1913, but the Exhibition was delayed by the war.

The Exhibition was opened on April 23rd last. The ceremony included a simple speech by the Prince of Wales, as President, a reply by the King, and prayers by the Bishop of London. There were bands marching and countermarching and playing, and a choir singing "Land of Hope and Glory"—the whole forming a scene of wonderful splendor. A despatch from the stadium stating that the Exhibition was open was sent to every part of the British Empire. It was received back in eighty seconds, having traversed about 31,500 miles. (Applause) The Prince of Wales asked his Majesty the King to graciously declare the Exhibition open to all his people. The reply of the King in part was as follows:—

"You have said that your object has been to produce a picture of our commonwealth of nations. No one can doubt that this has been fully attained. It represents to the world a graphic illustration of the spirit of free and tolerate co-operation which inspired peoples of different races, creeds and ways of thought to unite in a single commonwealth and contribute their varying national gifts to one great end. This Exhibition will enable us to take stock of the resources, actual and potential, of the Empire as a whole, and to consider whether these exist, and how they can best be developed and utilized; to take counsel together as to how the peoples can co-operate to supply one another's needs and promote the national well-being. I declare the British Empire Exhibition open, and I pray that by the blessing of God it may conduce to the unity and prosperity of all my peoples and to the peace and well-being of the world."

The Duke of Devonshire, Canada's former Governor-General, is Chairman of the Executive Council and is very active in furthering the Exhibition.

On the upper part of the hillside there is the great Empire stadium covering more than ten acres, where 125,000 people can find accommodation. Here were carried out games of all sorts, great services with imperial choirs, rough-riders with their horses and cattle, the Pageant of the Empire, military tatoo, etc., etc. It is said that Rome's immortal Coliseum would be lost within this place.

To the right we come to the African Pavilions. These buildings, with their quaint blunt-edged red walls and their contents, transport one immediately to what used to be known as "the dark continent." In the buildings of West Africa, Nigeria, and the Gold Coast, you see native weavers at work, wonderful exhibits of splendid timber—some of the rooms beautifully panelled in various Nigerian woods, one single piece of polished mahogany 3 feet by 18 feet. The Gold Coast alone produced, in 1923, 198,000 tons of cocoa, being over half the world's supply. There were great displays of cotton in various stages, palm oil, rubber, as well as minerals, such as tin, coal, etc.

In the East African pavilion there were exhibits of pottery, grains, tobacco, cotton, sisal, robes more or less spectacular, tea, tusks and heads mounted. There was on exhibition an old Kimberley-Johannesburg coach of sixty years ago, which carried mails and passengers when railways were undreamed of. It was drawn by eight mules in the wild parts, but horses substituted just outside Johannesburg. Cotton is grown in Uganda to the value of ten million dollars a year. Zanzibar produces over ninety per cent. of the world's cloves. East Africa exports coffee to the extent of about three million dollars per year.

In the South African pavilion there were hides and skins, rope, cordage, tobacco, diamonds in great profusion—also plant for diamond washing, cutting and polishing; wool, fruits, grains corn, maize, cheese, minerals in great variety, including coal; one-half of the gold of the world is produced in this country, it being the largest single producer; ostrich feathers, stuffed wild animals, woods in great profusion, dried, fresh and canned fruits, tanning extracts, sugar production of about 200,000 tons per year; seals. One corner represents the wine industry of the country, housed in a pretty little Dutch building with its vine decked trellis. There is also a paddock in which full-plumed ostriches are living at ease, also merino sheep and goats from which the famous wool and mohair are produced.

Malta has a pavilion representing a fortress with turrets and battlements. Some of the articles in this pavilion, it is said, go back more than thirty centuries before the Christian era. There is a very complete collection of armour, weapons, and trophies. Its present day exhibits comprise specimens of fine work in precious metals, articles of modern arts and crafts, jewelry, pictures of fortifications, etc. The island stone is claimed to be more beautiful than anything else of its kind within the Empire. There is a good collection of agricultural and horticultural products, cotton goods, canned goods, sweetmeats, and tobacco.

Further down the hillside we come to the Golden West, in which Canada is pre-eminent. Canada's building is stately, dignified and attractive, occupying a site of three and one-half acres. It was designed by the Canadian architect, Mr. J. O. Turcotte. Canada has a permanent government organization, existing for twenty years past, to take care of such an exhibition. Therefore Canada was the only country altogether ready when the Exhibition opened. (Applause) Mr. A. W. Tolmie is in charge. Canada's participation was at a cost of about one million dollars.

I think our Dominion Government deserves a great deal of credit for the part they have taken in this great Empire Exhibition. Hon. Mr. Larkin, the High Commissioner in London, who has been doing so much over there to put Canada on the map, as we say, has been active in helping to set forth the things that are worth while in Canadian life, and in all the activities of those in charge he was of great help and assistance. I may also say that the great building which is being erected or remodelled under Mr. Larkin's direction for the Canadian Government offices in London is in a very central place, perhaps the most spectacular point in London, fronting on Trafalgar Square; and I am glad, as others will be, that Canada is to have a home in the Metropolis of the Empire, which heretofore she has not had. (Applause) I think it is only fair to speak in this manner of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, because personally I do not always agree with the Federal Government. (Laughter)

For the first time manufactured products were exhibited along with the natural products of the country in a Canadian Government Exhibition; Canadian exhibits are purely educational, there being nothing offered for sale in the building. The inside of the Canadian building is very beautiful, the cornices and ceiling decorations being all made of grains and grasses in various colours beautifully blended. Perhaps the most realistic exhibits were those giving panoramic views and designs of our Western praries. Here were shown grain elevators (the castles of Canada), wide stretching farms with their houses and barns, harvest fields with operating gangs at work drawing the grain to the elevators, also railway trains, railway stations, etc. Alongside there were wonderful scenic effects of our mountain countries, and mining operations. One old lady remarked that she couldn't understand why Canadian farmers were so prosperous when they had to clear the rocks off their land first. (Laughter) There were harbour scenes, Vancouver, particularly, with moving ships inwards and outwards. Hundreds and thousands of boys and girls stood spellbound in front of these exhibits. Canada, long known as the granary, is also the "woodyard" of the Empire, and had a wonderful display of pulp and paper covering a thousand square feet. It is said that the mills of the Dominion produce in one day a strip of paper six feet wide and 24,600 miles long—enough to go round the earth.

One court is devoted entirely to vast mineral exhibits. There are also fascinating exhibits of fisheries, fruits, agricultural and dairy products.

In explaining the moving pictures of the Hollinger Gold Mine, the statement was quoted of an eminent U.S. Engineer that Canada would pass the United States in the matter of gold production in 1928. (Applause)

The industrial exhibits in charge of Mr. J. S. McKinnon, well known in Toronto, were well placed. There were exhibits of automobiles, pulp and paper, furniture, machinery of all sorts, food stuffs, metals, rubber goods, textiles, carpets and rugs, and silks.

The party in charge of the Dodge Pully products was asked "Where are the dark Canadians?" (Laughter) The attendant asked, "Do you mean the Indians?" The visitor said Yes, and he replied, "Well, you have a good specimen right here before you now of practically all the Indians that you will see if you go to Canada."

There was an intresting exhibit of Canadian authors' books. The Canadian universities had pictures of their buildings and some exhibits. The University of Toronto was well represented. The exhibit and information supplied concerning Insulin attracted large numbers.

One of the large glass cases which was always surrounded by a crowd represented the Prince of Wales along with a cow, wholly in butter. At the Dominion Day dinner, at which the High Commissioner presided and the Prince of Wales gave an address, the Prince called himself a "Canadian rancher" and said, "I have the greatest possible faith in everything that is Canadian, including butter." Canada tells her story admirably and without exaggeration. It is one of optimism and faith. In speaking at the Advertising Conference at Wembley, Lord Burnham said, "The Canadian building is the best piece of national advertising that has ever been attempted and carried to a successful completion by any country." (Applause)

One might stop to enquire what will be the effect, directly and indirectly, of Canada's participation in this exhibition. I have not time to dwell upon that, except to say that many of the exhibitors, especially those exhibiting industrial life and products have received large orders, and I think will continue to receive orders, for Canadian supplies of manufactured goods. It has also been an eye-opener to the people of Great Britain to see what Canada is able to produce and offer to the world. The British manufacturers are amazed at our efficiency. Canada, through this Exhibition, should attract many settlers of the finest type.

Immediately adjoining the Canadian pavilion at one end is the building of the Canadian National Railways. The mural paintings running round this building are cleverly designed to represent an historical pageant of Canadian transport; first, the Indian mode—horses and poles, and canoes; next, the old covered wagons which were superseded by the first railway train in 1852; then the representation of the very fine railway trains, tourist sleepers and diners, and services of to-day. There were in this building enormous maps of Canada electrically lighted.

At the other end of the Canadian pavilion is the Canadian Pacific Railway building. At the entrance are sculptured two enormous bronzed buffaloes. The effect of the great entrance is very imposing. It faces India and Burma, a literal example in architecture of the East meeting the West. There are in this building representations of rail and water transport, telegraph, express services, hotels, electrically lighted camps, splendid wheat fields, great harbours and buildings, fruit displays, big game, the Canadian Rockies, prairies and farms, various kinds of woods. An interesting feature is a huge electrically-lit map of Canada. There is also, upstairs, a lecture hall and cinema showing Canadian scenery and industry.

The pavilion of Newfoundland, Britain's oldest colony, shows in realistic form the fishing villages and cod fishing on the banks, being the largest cod-fish producing country in the world. There are also exhibits of minerals in great profusion, seals, wonderful furs, impressive woods, cod liver oil, animals, including great Newfoundland dogs, etc.

The smallest but not the least interesting of the Exhibition buildings is that of Bermuda. The climate, natural beauty, sporting attractions, with a map giving topographical appearance, agriculture, flora, and other products are all set forth. Original natives were Englishmen. The pavilion is a replica of the house occupied by Thomas Moore, the poet, who lived there in 1803. Over the beams of the poet's room is the verse:—

But bless the little fairy isle,
How sweetly after all our ills,
We saw the dewy morning smile
Serenely on its fragrant hills.

The West Indies show a pavilion shared with her nearest neighbour, British Guiana. The West Indies exhibit in great variety, sugar (export about one million pounds sterling yearly), tobacco, cigars, fruits, cocoanuts, coffee, sponges, etc., etc. This building is a paradise for women—hats made to order by girls on the premises. There is also a representation of a lake of pitch, and outside the doorway what is said to be Columbus's anchor.

British Guiana has a working model of a diamond mine, and also by-products of the forest industries—gums, oils, and resins, also a giant pyramid of sugar. The sugar industry employs directly and indirectly about half the working population. Some natives in the building are employed in weaving cotton and making hammocks, etc.

Further down the slope we come to India's pavilion, which covers three acres of ground. It is made of steel and fibrous plaster and flanked with minarets 110 feet high. In front of the pavilion is a sunken courtyard surrounded by an open colonnade. India reproduces the native architecture of the country better than other pavilions. India's population is 320 millions. India has displays of jute, carpets and oriental rugs, fancy linens, silks and embroideries, curios, bazaars, metal work, carving in wood and ivory; there is also a large display of timber. A splendid jungle exhibit contains many trophies. India produces nearly three million tons of sugar yearly, and three hundred thousand pounds of tea.

Burma section, which adjoins the Indian ground, contains a pavilion designed on purely Burmese lines, and decorated by some of the finest carving in the Exhibition. The buildings are very attractive and the little gilded bells on the three towers, that ring at the will of the wind, serve to call the visitors to this particular spot. The entrance to one of the famous temples of Mandalay is represented. The exhibit of woods is particularly striking, there being about sixty varieties of timber. There are exhibits of rice, cotton, crude oils and products, candles, wax, minerals, metal goods, fancy goods, etc. There are also costumes, umbrellas, silk work, toys. There is a native theatre, troupes of dancing girls, native jugglers, etc. It is one of the popular exhibits of the fair. Indian women were there with diamonds in their noses. At the King's garden party we saw several Indian women wearing diamonds in the sides of their noses. It is said that a "top-notcher" would also have a diamond in her forehead.

After leaving the Burma pavilion with its lure of the Orient, its weird music and dancing, we were face to face with old London Bridge running over the railway tracks. Built of grey stone, with overhead roof of green slate and a cobbled roadway, we were back to the middle ages. Little shops line each side of the roadway in which are displayed and sold the attractive products seen generally in London shops to-day.

The Malayan pavilion displays the produce and commerce of the Straits Settlements. The building reproduces the Moorish style of architecture, and is full of colour inside and out. The Malayan exhibits cover a large area of production, for the Straits Settlements include many places and states. The exhibits are arranged in seven sections, viz., forestry, fisheries, mines, commerce, agriculture, arts and crafts, and scenery. There are wonderful specimens of timber and of furniture, floor material, walking sticks, etc. Two-thirds of the world's rubber and one-third of the world's tin come from these states. Malaya claims to have the largest fishing grounds in the world. The rubber trees are shown and the milk taken from them in somewhat similar fashion to our maple syrup from the maple trees. There are also big game trophies and birds of rare plumage. Malaya also produces many minerals, cocoanuts, oils and fats, rice, coffee, spices, etc.

In the Borneo section there are exhibits of oils, also sago, which is a white powder—the dried sap of a tree. The stuffed ourang-outang at the entrance is, of course, a cousin of the "wild man of Borneo." The snake that has just swallowed a pig looks as contented as an alderman after a banquet. (Laughter)

Hong Kong has reproduced one of its native streets. There are twenty-four shops on one side of the road, fitted and arranged as in the colony with merchants carrying on business, provided by the visitors, as at home. Native workers in silk, silver, ivory, blackwood, rattan and paper may be watched at their tasks. The finished products are offered for sale. There are models of the docks and shipbuilding yards, and exhibits showing the resources of the colony. A complete picture of the silk industry showing processes in detail is staged by experts. On the opposite side of the road there is a large Chinese restaurant; Chinese dishes are here provided. There are such delicacies as birds' nests, sharks' fins, and mushrooms; Chinese tea and cakes are served. The harbour of Hong Kong is one of the most important and largest in the world. It is a centre for the distribution of coal, cotton, iron, sugar, tea, also a market for curios in carved jade and ivory, blackwood, furniture, silks, embroideries, and woods.

Ceylon exhibits the well known teas of the Island and also rubber production and manufactured articles made from same, also gutta-percha (which is said not to be a form of rubber but a gum from an evergreen tree). In 1922 Ceylon exported over 170 million pounds (weight) of tea. She also produces timber, spices, rice, tobacco and cocoanuts.

The Palestine and Cyprus pavilion is designed in the style following the Eastern Mediterranean. The exhibits give a complete representation of the life and industries in both countries. Palestine is, of course, our nearest possession in Asia and with the best known history of any country in the world. There are exhibited wines, fruits, grains, asbestos, and fancy stuffs of all descriptions. It is interesting to note that there is a representation of a power development on the River Jordan which is to have ultimately 50,000 h.p.

We now come to the Pacific group. Some of the pavilions are to the right and some to the left, of Canada's building. Australia is, of course, the chief country of this group. The pavilion is rather larger on the ground than the Canadian pavilion, but has not the same upstairs accommodation. When one enters it there is more or less of an empty appearance and lack of inside decoration. Australia's exhibits, generally speaking, are commercial rather than historical. We are conversant, of course, with the fact that Australia produces one-quarter of the world's wool supply. There is a sheep-shearing model capable of handling twelve sheep in a day. Australia is a large producer of sugar from the cane by white labour—100,000 persons being employed directly and indirectly. There are ranching, orchard, bush and logging scenes which are very striking, also a gold-crushing machine. There are splendid exhibits of dried and canned fruits, wheat and other cereals, cheese, native wines, furniture (partly made in England), tweeds, rugs, pearls and pearl diving scenes, fish, minerals in great variety, birds and animals in wonderful profusion, and splendid scenic effects. There are also splendid pictures of their great city buildings and streets. One of their most important exhibits is that of chilled meat in huge cases. There is also Freda, the mechanical cow, which winks, wags her tail, and moos. She is evidently in training for political life. (Laughter) Australia has a reproduction of a model bakery where cakes and buns are made from Australian flour and dried fruits. There is also a restaurant where meals are served. In addition there are fruits sold in the pavilion, especially Australian apples—in contrast with Canada's exhibits where there are no sales made. Even the Australians themselves, it is said, feel that a mistake has been made as it gives the whole place more or less of the appearance of a fruit stall.

New Zealand has a fine dignified pavilion. There are native huts at each side. The pavilion is decorated with typical New Zealand scenes worked in plaster relief, depicting the producing industries of the country such as sheep shearing, milking, timber felling, harvesting, and fruit picking, also representations of great wingless birds (moas) now extinct. These are about twelve feet high with small heads and very thick legs. It is said that the native races (Maori's), have entered more into the life of the white settlers than has been the case in other countries. There are native timbers, perishable products in refrigerator cabinets such as butter and cheese, also chilled mutton, lamb, and beef. There is a splendid exhibit of fish, also canned meat, oils, etc. There is a great display of wool in various forms, milk products, agricultural seeds and cereals, also minerals of various kinds. It will be remembered that New Zealand's settlement commenced in 1840. In one of the gardens there is a Samoan hut. The island of Samoa, was captured from the Germans by the New Zealand troops early in the war. The handiwork of the natives is here displayed. This island was, as we know, Robert Louis Stevenson's home for many years.

The Fiji pavilion is one of the smallest in the Exhibition, but represents an interesting group of islands in the Southern Pacific. This colony was ceded to Great Britain by the native chiefs just fifty years ago. It is interesting to note that in May last two Fijian chiefs of high rank arrived in London as a deputation to present to the King their thanks for fifty years of satisfactory British rule. (Applause) One of the interesting exhibits is a wall-covering made of tappa, which is cloth manufactured by native women from the bark of the paper-mulberry tree. It is a sort of midway texture between cloth and paper and is used for a variety of purposes, including clothing and household requirements. This country produces sugar valued at one million pounds sterling per annum. There is an exhibit of shells and white coral. There is a fine display of photographs illustrating the sugar industry as well as some natural features of the Islands. The copra industry is the mainstay of the Pacific islands. New uses are constantly being found for this dried inside shell of the cocoanuts. In fifty years the tonnage exported from the Fiji Islands has trebled while the value per ton has doubled. There is here also an exhibit of butter said to be the first ever exported from any of the Pacific islands.

We now come to Great Britain—"the dear old land, the motherland." (Applause)

The British Government Pavilion occupies a permanent position to the extreme right of the Dominions' and India's pavilions. The Motherland thus standing aside to give prior place to the overseas lands, while the two great exhibition buildings of Great Britain are further down the hillside and opposite Canada's and Australia's pavilions. Between are artificial lakes with large row boats, an island specially illuminated at night, and bridges connecting the roadways. The British Government building is guarded by lions, overhung by flags, and supported by lofty columns. It contains the special compartment reserved for the use of their Majesties during their frequent visits to Wembley. This pavilion shelters and displays many of the symbols of Empire, in fact the whole romance of history is here unfolded. That which arrests the attention of visitors immediately on entering the great building is a contour map of the world with the seas all about the land and lights across the waterways. Model ships pursue their path from port to port and the endless traffic of the ocean is here portrayed. Thus the seas no longer divide but unite. Beyond this great map there are wonderful naval, military, and aerial displays. The great battles of the Empire are here set forth. The Departments of Government, including overseas trade, the mint, the ministries of health and agriculture, are all represented. On the lower ground floor of the pavilion is the gallery of the Overseas Settlement. The purpose is to bring home to the visitors the need of settlement in the distant parts of the Empire. Within the Empire there are seven and one-half million square miles with, it is stated, only three and one-third million white folks directly engaged in agriculture, whereas in France alone more than twice as many people are fully employed on about three per cent. of this area. In Great Britain it is stated that there are nearly 500 people to the square mile, whereas it is shown that in Canada and Australia there are only about two people to the square mile.

Moving down the hill and opposite to the lakelet already mentioned we come to the great Palace of Engineering of Great Britain. This is said to be the largest building in the world in area of floor space. It is a triumph of ferro-concrete. It covers an area of six and one-half times the size of Trafalgar Square and the floor space is over a million square feet. Five full sized railway lines connecting with the main trunk lines of the country traverse the building from end to end. There are overhead cranes to enable the exhibits to be swung into place. In this building there seem to be gathered together everything from a nut to a steam engine and from a pin to a sixteen inch naval gun. Models of ships of all descriptions are here. The last word at the time in railway travel, is the quaint and dwarf engine that first pulled a passenger train in the world. It is George Stephenson's engine of 1825, which had a speed of eight miles per hour. When built it was thought to almost prove the Biblical assertion that "man is but a little lower than the angels." It is side by side with its great grandson that can do 100 miles per hour. Wonderful as has been the progress in our railway world, we still sit in soot and dirt as we are whirled along on our journey. Possibly we may look forward to a great refinement in that respect. The great divisions of the Palace of Engineering are: electrical engineering, general engineering, railway transport, motor and cycle section, and water transport.

Nearby is the Palace of industry, only slightly smaller than the Palace of Engineering. This building houses industries of the United Kingdom which do not come under the general head of engineering. The pavilion is really a series of halls and galleries, each to all intents and purposes self-contained. Here are found chemical industries, cotton textiles, and machinery, wool industries, silk, miscellaneous textiles, clocks and watches, gas exhibits, building trades, music, scientific instruments, paper and products, food products and beverages, tobacco, rubber, Nobel industries (mining explosives, etc.), domestic utilities and fancy goods, sports, games and toys, pottery and glass, boots and shoes, leather, furnitlre, floor coverings, lace, linens from Ulster, a model of an Irish whisky distillery, shipbuilding carried on at Belfast, Scottish linens, Scottish weaving and embroidery with a piper in attendance. This building is said to be the nation's shop window.

The Palace of Art is a special fireproof building and shows a collection of pictures revealing the development of British painting from the earliest days to the present. In this building there is a department devoted to sculpture. Each of the Dominions is furnished with a separate gallery so that the whole range of Imperial art may be studied. The most popular gallery in this building is that containing the exhibit of the Queen's doll's house, a perfect model one-twelfth of the full size of the royal palace, to which fifteen hundred artists have given of their best as their tribute to Her Majesty's deep interest in architecture, furniture, and decoration. The admission fee charged will be turned over by Queen Mary to charity. The applied Art section contains a number of galleries in which the exhibits are extremely interesting throughout.

In addition to all these palaces and buildings there is a Palace of Horticulture, also flower gardens which have their usual interest for people of taste in this direction. There are also great amusement parks. The latter in the language of an American, "have Coney Island beaten to a frazzle."

There are, of course, various restaurants and places where food may be secured.

In regard to the continuity of the Exhibition, the guarantors, of which there are a number, feel that as all the initial expenses have already been taken care of, the Exhibition should be continued another season. They believe that practically thousands and hundreds of thousands from overseas who did not go this year because they feared there would not be accommodation would attend another year. Men like the Duke of Devonshire particularly, who have agreed to stand back of the Exhibition financially, feel that if it could be continued another year there would not be such a large deficit as there certainly would be if closed now.

It is hoped that much woeful ignorance in high places and among all classes in England will be dispelled by this great Exhibition, especially in regard to their lack of knowledge of the Dominions and colonies. (Hear, hear)

I was told that one of their school geographies, in speaking of Canada, said that there were three great cities; first of all there was Montreal, which was the commercial metropolis; in the second place there was Ottawa, the political capital; and in the next place there was St. Thomas, "where Jumbo died." (Laughter) In the British House of Commons, when the subject of preference was being discussed, Lord Arnold, the Under Secretary of State, said there was much misapprehension in the minds of many people as to what preference meant. He said, too, that there was a feeling that unless something in the shape of preference were granted to the various dominions and colonies there would be a gradual alienation of these outlying countries from Great Britain itself. He said, "That is not the case; for instance, in the matter of borrowing, it is necessary for these Dominions and colonies to come to Great Britain when they want money. Now, that statement is most remarkable, coming from an under-secretary, when we try to apply it to Canada; for it is well-known that during the war the Dominion of Canada advanced to Great Britain $1,250,000,000, and that the banks loaned an additional $300,000,000; Canada has never borrowed a dollar in the Old Country since 1913, and to-day it does not look as though she was in immediate need of going outside of herself in that direction. At all events Britain's financial status will have to be restored first. But this incident shows how statements are made, even those affecting great interests, that are not well considered.

There was a typical English manufacturer who felt that Canada should not manufacture anything; that we should send to Great Britain all our agricultural products and raw materials, and that Great Britain would make up those raw materials for us and send them back to Canada finished. That statement was carried to such an extent that even the Honorable Mr. Dunning, the Premier of Saskatchewan, had to correct it by a statement as to the value of manufacturing in Canada, and I do not know how he will square himself with the Progressives of the West for having done that. (Laughter)

The great British Empire covers one-quarter of the known globe and contains a population of 460 millions. What we see represented is not alone the natural products of the Empire but the handiwork of man through generations of endeavour. It is a great family party designed to bring all the parts into closer association, to stimulate trade and strengthen the bonds of Empire. The world saw a great Exhibition of the solidarity of the British Empire as we trod the scorching ways of the Great War. It now sees an equally impressive exhibition of the solidarity of the Empire in the arts and ways of peace. To visit the British Empire Exhibition is to visit every continent of the earth. No one with an ounce of Imperialism in his system can witness such a demonstration of the vastness of the British Empire and its wonderful resources without feelings of worthy and honourable pride in being a citizen of so great a commonwealth of nations. (Applause) It should engender a desire to high and noble endeavour in behalf of Empire interests. Nothing less than a proper recognition of the rights and obligations of all parts of the Empire towards each other as well as towards the world at large will justify our pride of Empire. Empire privileges carry Empire duties and it is quite possible that as individuals and as a nation we have accepted the one without having regard to the other. If the Empire is to live it must live first of all in the hearts and lives of its citizens, expressed in goodwill, courage, hearty co-operation, and a spirit of tolerance. The lesson for us in Canada is obvious. In the face of our vast Empire resources and far-flung possessions, representing unfathomable riches, one, if reverent, might well say, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works: in wisdom hast Thou made them all." (Loud applause)

MR. ARTHUR HEWITT, past-president, expressed the warm appreciation and hearty thanks of the Club for this fine address.

THE LABOR SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

AN ADDRESS BY C. R. FAY, M.A., D.SC.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, November 6, 1924.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR, Vice-President, introduced the speaker, who was received with loud applause.

PROFESSOR FAY.

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Empire Club,—I endeavor to-day to address myself to three aspects of the labor situation in Great Britain; first of all, the labor situation viewed as a political crisis; secondly, the same situation viewed as an economic crisis; thirdly, dropping the word "crisis," I will endeavor to see how far we can apply the notion for which we are here to-day—the notion of imperial liaison and imperial study—to this problem of labor as it is here with us and in the Old Country.

First of all, as to the political crisis. Necessarily what I say here is of the nature of an impression, yet I think few of those who were in England last summer came away without having a suspicion that a big change was destined soon to come over the grouping of parties, though few anticipated how big it would be.

Last June I was in the House of Commons visiting those who had been both my colleagues and

---

Professor Fay is an M.A. of Cambridge and a D.Sc. of London. He is Professor of Economic History in the University of Toronto. After he came to Toronto he spent a summer in the Canadian West studying economic conditions there. For a similar purpose he visited the Maritime Provinces. During this summer he investigated labour conditions in England, studying these on the spot with employees and employers. A broad scholar, a patient investigator, a shrewd judge, and a tolerant critic in an admittedly difficult department of human endeavour, Professor Fay's work is much appreciated.

pupils (belonging, I make bold to say, to all three parties). One naturally tries to get the sense of things; and the sense of things was not altogether different from the result which has since transpired. It is broadly this—that there has been a temporary elimination of what had come to be the middle party, the Liberal party, from British politics as a main party.

Parties get their names from long back. If I tried to characterize the Liberal party—to which I may say I did not belong in England—I would have said, using the term in no cynical sense, and using the term in no adulatory sense—that it was the most rational party, temperamentally, in the British Commons. It was strongly brought home to me, and confirmed in conversations with my friends, that there was a bigger difference in temperament between the Liberals and the other two parties than there was between the Conservative party and Labor. That was clear not only from casual conversations, but also from the temper of the House when the several parties spoke.

I happened to be present at one debate, which was staged by way of an indulgence for the back-benchers, on the result of a motion introduced by Lord Curzon in the Commons. The deduction of £100 from the salary of a certain minister was the excuse for a debate as to how far the Labor party got its funds from the Bolshevists. Mr. Lansbury got up to reply, to the evident delight of the Conservative party. He proceeded with great eloquence, and finally accused the Conservative party of being a den of thieves and robbers. The Conservative party, in complete delight at this accusation, had one of their representatives get up and ask, was it in order for the Honorable Member thus to describe them? The Deputy Chairman—for they were in supply,—very tactfully remarked, "I fancy that the Right Honourable Member for Bow and Bromley has just arrived at his peroration, and it would be unwise to disturb him." (Laughter) That was a hit against Labor. Similarly, a short while after, there was a hit against the Conservatives in which both parties rejoiced equally. This time a Conservative member got up, and in a very dreary and inaudible voice started his list of accusations, which sounded like a mere hum, for nobody could hear; whereupon the Glasgow contingent, who sat together on the same bench, linked arms and proceeded to sigh in a sympathetic chorus—"Amen! Amen!"—which the Conservatives also took up, and that part of the debate ended in complete chaos, and the retirement of the majority of the Conservative party for refreshments. (Laughter) Whereupon Mr. Kirkwood, in a loud voice, called them back to come and hear their own man!

One would have said that they were school-boys. Then a Liberal member got up, and very sensibly remarked, "This is a foolish motion, we have no intention of supporting this vote for the reduction of salary," and he proceeded to make what I think that we here, whatever our party, would have called a few eminently reasonable remarks on the situation, but they were received with intense frigidity by the House. This was an evening when undoubtedly some indulgence was being allowed to the back-benches; but I want to put it to you that, although in social outlook and in policy the Labor and Conservatives are poles asunder both in their strength and in their weakness, yet those two parties are temperamentally not very far removed. (Laughter)

Now, I think it is essential that the Conservative party should incorporate into itself some working-class representation, and equally it is desirable for the Labor party that they should be reinforced by the more progressive Liberals, if the Liberal party is to come to an end, as one thinks it may well do.

I think it is further true that the Labor party was most successful in what had hitherto been assumed to be, the preserve of Conservatism—general European policy. I think it is also true that it was least successful in that of which it had the most intimate knowledge, and for which it was believed to have the most sure remedy, namely, unemployment.

From this you will gather what my impressions are; however, not only is an impression uncertain, but also through politics one cannot get at the fundamental long-period movements that are taking place in national or imperial life. For this, one has to pass away from the emergency happenings of politics—and legislation nearly always suffers from the exigencies of party life—one has to get away from these things and down to the more abiding things. And here, I believe, those of you who have recently visited England will agree with me that, fierce as may be the denunciations common to all parties in English political life, yet there is no sign of that kind of nervous insecurity which, if one were to believe the papers when they are dealing with politics, ought to prevail among peace-loving citizens.

It is in no sense true that the working classes are the "Have Nots" of English life. To take one very notable example, they are, in their own way, among the biggest capitalists. In the great consumers' organization for the distribution and manufacture of the necessaries of life they do business which even our greatest departmental stores would envy. They have a turn-over in their own societies of £200,000,000 Sterling a year, and they have among their own employees, distributive and productive, something like 170,000 people. Now, with such capital at stake and with the control necessary to manage such a great enterprise, there is quite clearly another side in working-class life to that of political violence; for this reason Great Britain possesses an internal economic stability, which is hard to shake because it is connected with administration of a great economic enterprise. I do not think a moderate programme necessarily makes a moderate people; but I do think that whatever the program of the working class may be, it is desirable that they should be in some way engaged in enterprises of serious economic purpose. They are so engaged, and that is the enormous tie that exists between the English working classes and English society. (Applause)

With that preface let me sketch what I am venturing to term the economic crisis in Great Britain. It centres around the unemployment problem, which itself on its present scale is an aftermath of war; which itself has been, one must allow, to some extent increased by the measures taken for its relief. In an industrial community, as Great Britain is, I think urban unemployment is the counterpart of unremunerative farming conditions in a new country like Canada. Both are the result, mainly and in the first instance, of the dislocation of markets caused by the war.

In Great Britain unemployment is most acute in those industries which were swollen to meet the demands of war, such, for example, as engineering, which catered for munitions, and shipbuilding—in that group, and also in the group of industries most closely connected with the export trade, in cotton, textiles and shipping itself.

Bad as the condition of things is for those who are unemployed, yet unemployment has not produced any sort of debacle in English working-class conditions. For that they have to thank two things—first of all their trade-union organization, and secondly, and I think mainly, their co-operative organization, which puts a cushion between them and want.

Compared with pre-war conditions, in figures, the situation is roughly this: —Prices, wholesale, are up between 60 and 70 per cent., but wages are up between 70 and 80 per cent., and the cost to the employer is up rather more because the hours of work are rather less and the product per man is rather less. To the employer it means an increase in labor cost of some 80 to 90 per cent. over pre-war, on the average. The result of this, so far as our statisticians can tell us, is that the aggregate production compared with pre-war is down by some 5 to 10 per cent., and this is spread over a population which is larger by 6 per cent.

But I want to emphasize this, that apart from the *real* cost of unemployment—by which I mean the demoralization of those who suffer from it—the working classes, as a whole, are not worse off than they were before the war. The loss, such as it is, has been borne, first, by those depending on fixed incomes from property and investment, and secondly by one particular class of wage-earner which is worse off—and the condition of this particular class is perhaps the most serious factor in the labor situation of Great Britain. What class is it? It is the skilled wage-earner whose work is conducted in industries subject to foreign competition; in particular, the skilled engineer, or the skilled ship-builder, who finds himself now in this position, that his wage has risen less than the increase in the cost of living. I read recently a remark to this effect:—

"The ship-builder goes down to his work in a street-car driven by a man who gets a pound a week more than he does; and lives in a house of which the municipal dust-bin is collected by a man also earning a pound a week more."

In other words, the man who used to belong to the aristocracy of wage-earners is now getting a lower rate than the semi-skilled workers in industries which are not faced by acute foreign competition. This clash between the sheltered and the unsheltered occupations finds its emphasis in the export trade, because the nation generally exports its specialties. That is the most difficult side of the labor problem in Great Britain.

Now, on what line are we to look for recovery here? Of course the main line is the recovery of foreign markets. But here we meet with an awkward dilemma. One of the ways to increase the foreign market is, of course, to bring down the price of goods, which ultimately leads to expansion of sales, and thus to further employment of workers. But this class of worker has already suffered the biggest fall in wages.

Great Britain is now already importing the pre-war volume of imports, but exports have not reached their pre-war volume by 30 per cent.; they are only some 70 per cent. of the pre-war volume. Of course is is satisfactory to get as much in volume from foreign markets as before without paying as much for it, but if that is to be permanent it means a very considerable transference of enterprise and labor from occupations concerned with the supply of the foreign markets to occupations concerned with the supply of internal wants.

One want stands out glaringly, and that is the want of more houses. The housing shortage is due to the cessation of building during the war, the loss of skilled personnel, and the barriers set up by the building unions to the creating of new personnel other than by the accepted channels of apprenticeship. There is much talk in England of the terrible housing problem. I could not help thinking that if that had been presented to Canada they would have settled it in the five years which have elapsed since the armistice. Undoubtedly, in the power of adaptation to new circumstances, a new country such as this has the advantage the whole time.

Finally, in this connection, I want to urge that one should be cautious in using that familiar word, "dole." Definite gifts for relief of unemployment were made, after the war, especially to ex-service people who were being demobilized. These may be called doles, but they do not belong to the scheme of insurance against unemployment, which is in the main not a system of doles. Between 1912 and 1923 the contributions to that fund came in the following proportions: From employers, 39 per cent.; from employees, 36 per cent.; from the state, 25 per cent., making 100 per cent. in all; therefore the benefit received is really a benefit toward which the employing authority and the employees have made the major contributions.

So much, then, for the attempt to pick out the most salient facts in the economic crisis in Great Britain. I conclude with some remarks on the imperial aspect. What are to be the future relations between labor, organized or unorganized, and the Dominions?—because on the healthiness of that relation depends, I believe, to a great extent, the strength of imperial relations in the future. We are convinced, from this side, that to strengthen the imperial tie by a scheme of political federation would involve so much centralization as to be distasteful over here. It is very doubtful if anything like permanent stability can be obtained by fiscal preferences. That issue is, of course, once more in debate. But, however we look at it, there is always a danger that any particular rate of duty may be altered, and thus cause instability and disappointment of expectations.

The next thing, apart from federation and fiscal preference, and one which I would think better than them, is some form of organized knowledge which may in the end produce a real binding tie. I am always appalled by what I will call the "time-lag" in knowledge of events, whether it be a matter of imperial statistics, or in the conditions, let us say, of emigrants or settlers from the old country coming out here. Just as in the old days, the conception of a university was that of a real "universitas" or gathering of people of various nations, so also there is within the Empire a need of assisted organized study by the component parts, prepared beforehand at our universities on either side.

It is to me quite extraordinary, the ease with which one, by being only a year or so away, can get out of touch with the centres of things. I have tried to correct that by going to and fro each year. Now, just as in the army the biggest of our achievements were attained by that magnificent service of liaison between one arm and another, between one ally and another, by skilled men specializing on it as a service, so I believe that there is going to be a new role for our universities in the sense of building up, not only for their undergraduates, but also for their graduate students and their alumni of an intelligent approach into the economic and social conditions of the Mother Country from our side, and of the Dominions from the side of the Mother Country.

You will agree with me that whatever else we may think of England, it is somewhat of an elusive country. Much of the trouble into which the Englishman gets comes from the apparent indifference, from apparent superciliousness. Their hearts were open, and their minds, during the war, and for that the Dominions owe them great thanks, in the sense not merely that it was to help in war time, but in the sense that many a young man, as my undergraduate pupils have told me, for the first time got a sight into something other than the mythical England when he was entertained.

Well, you may say, the shipping companies give us special facilities and we go over as it is; but I would say this, that both for the understanding of one part of the Dominion of Canada by another and also for the understanding of Canada and England, what we want is to supplement that general, individual, unorganized studying by something which prepares a man during the short time he is on a visit to make an intelligent use of his time. (Hear, hear) You may call this unsubstantial contribution to the imperial tie; I am not frightened of that; because we have behind us a spirit of general good-will. On these we can build. Whether it is by way of a common foreign policy, or by way of a harmonized tariff, or by way ultimately of neither of those things, but simply of close imperial contact, with no "time-lag," we have the asset of general good-will, and all we have to do is to build on that with knowledge.

Looseness of thought and lateness of knowledge cause as much friction as definitely antagonistic politics; and it is to such a body as this, of men interested in the Empire, that I, for one, look for help in making the relations between labor in the Old Country, organized or unorganized, and labor out here close, friendly and productive of imperial harmony. That is a cause above party controversy which I believe is worth working for. (Loud applause)

DR. GRANT, Principal of Upper Canada College, expressed the hearty thanks of the Club for the timely and important address, adding that it was a great thing for Toronto University to have such a man as liaison officer between the academic life and the public life. For that element in the address, and for its special application to the subject, he was very glad to move the vote of thanks.

OUTDOORS IN CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY CAPTAIN J. MILTON STATE.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, November 13, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, saying that Canadians are not sufficiently familiar with their own country, and therefore the address would be appreciated.

Capt. J. Milton State was received with applause, and said:—

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—It is needless to say that I have very much pleasure in being with you to-day. This is the second occasion on which I have had the pleasure of addressing the members of this Club, which is known with a very splendid reputation in all parts of the American continent. I am only sorry for one thing, that I have been selected to occupy an hour of your time on such a large subject as we have to-day.

In August last I presented to the Rotary Club of London, in the Hotel Cecil, almost this same subject, and after I had been speaking for a few moments a very nicely-dressed old gentleman came down to the front seat—I suppose in the Province of Ontario I should not say his breath was very strong—but in a few minutes he got to his feet and asked me how long I had been lecturing. I replied, "Twelve or fifteen years;" whereupon he said, "All right; I'll sit down and stick it, for you will soon be through." (Laugh-

---

Captain J. Milton State, a noted traveller and graphic lecturer, is a publicity agent and official lecturer for the Canadian National Railways. He is a Canadian who served with distinction during the great war.

ter) This shows that they have a great deal of humor in the Old Country.

I should be familiar with this subject, because in the Service of the Canadian National Railways I have had to make a great many of these trips. We have a Dominion that is unparalleled, from coast to coast, in the world to-day. (Hear, hear) Three years ago I had the pleasure of relating to you some of my experiences at a Hudson's Bay post, and it required a great deal of nerve to come here, sent by the Washington bureau, to tell fellow-Canadians something about the Hudson's Bay post, for I felt there were men present who knew more about the subject than I did.

Canada simply abounds with romantic places that are worthy of investigation not only by ourselves but by tourists from all parts of the world. I think that the Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Pacific Railway are doing a wonderful work in making Canada known to the people outside.

It will be my pleasure to-day to take you to a few wonderful places in Canada. The fact is that Columbus did not discover the American continent, it was a British sailor named John Cabot, who with his son, Sebastian, sailed from Bristol and landed on the coast of Nova Scotia, and took possession of this country for King Henry VII; and thank God, that old flag has never once been lowered on this half of North America. (Applause)

I am going to cover Canada from coast to coast in an hour. That will be a very big task. I remember that when the King and Queen of Italy were looking on our great transcontinental train, as shown on the moving screen, I heard the King say that it was a most marvellous thing to see a train cross the continent in four minutes!

Slides were then shown, first, near the mouth of St. John River where Champlain landed and began his perilous trip overland. Scenes along the River St.

John were shown, and big moose were pictured. A lumbering scene on the Metapedia, where almost forty million feet of logs were shown on their way to be cut for pulp—an industry that is receiving the careful attention of experts in the Canadian Government. The moose is the monarch of the Canadian forest, and the lecturer told of chasing these animals from one shore to another in order to secure the pictures. The moose is one of the great assets of the Canadian forest, and Canada is the best country for big game on this continent.

The lecturer told about a trapper who had captured a big bull moose, and had taken it to Quebec and exhibited it at 25 cents per head. A habitant came with his family to see the animal, and when he offered the 25 cents the old guide replied, "Take back your 25 cents; it is worth more for my moose to see your big family than for your family to see the moose." (Laughter)

Forty years after Cabot took possession of this continent for the King of England a French navigator landed as Gaspe, and took possession for the French King. (The slide showed Percé Rock at Gaspe).

Slides were then shown of Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, the Chateau Laurier, Lake Timagami, whose shore is almost 4,000 miles in extent, though very sinuous. The lecturer remarked that Longfellow had obtained many legends of the Ojibway Indians which he had woven into his poem, "Hiawatha."

Moving pictures were shown of Muskoka, and also canoe trips on the River Nipigon, north of Lake Superior, one of the most wonderful rivers on the continent, 50 miles in length, having a drop of 250 feet in its full length. This river is the home of the world-famous speckled trout.

The lecturer told of a guide on the Nipigon who, after serving a party of 17 travellers, refused to accept anything whatever. The travellers decided to make him a present of two boxes of the most expensive cigars, but decided to ask the guide to pay 50 cents for each box. The guide put his hand in his pocket and brought out a $5 bill and said, "All right, give me ten boxes of cigars like that at 50 cents a box." (Laughter)

A trip up Mount Robson was then shown in moving pictures; this mountain is 13,000 feet high, the monarch of the Rockies, the highest mountain in Canada. It has been scaled only on two occasions, once this summer during the visit of the Alpine Club, and once some years ago.

The lecturer told the story of the origin of the name "Dominion of Canada." He said that during a visit to the Old Country last summer, in looking over some very interesting records he had discovered this. During the days of great controversy at the time of the Confederation of the Provinces it was considered necessary to have a name that would designate the whole of the provinces which were comprised in the new member of the British Empire. After the controversy had been going on for some time, one of the gentlemen concerned in it happened, in reading his Bible at night, to hit upon the 8th verse of the 72nd Psalm, and was struck by this line—"And he shall have dominion from sea to sea." The idea immediately struck him that Canada was a dominion that stretched from sea to sea, and the idea appealed to him so strongly that the next day, when the discussion was resumed, he put forward the claim for the word "Dominion" as he took it from this line—"Dominion from sea to sea." The people who were engaged in naming the Dominion saw the justice of the claim, and immediately agreed with him that that was the most appropriate term they could give to this great country of ours, which is now known as the Dominion of Canada for that very reason. (Applause)

MR. K. J. DUNSTAN expressed the thanks of the Club for the interesting address.

THE NEW ORGAN OF CIVILIZATION

AN ADDRESS BY DR. CHARLES A. EATON.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, November 20, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced the speaker, who was received with applause, the audience rising.

DR. CHARLES A. EATON.

Mr. President, Honoured Guests and Members of the Empire Club of Canada,—I would indeed be hard to move did I not feel greatly honoured and very happy at this beautiful reception in what I always think of as my old home. (Applause) At this table there are seated several men who really brought me up; at my left is my venerable friend, Chancellor Whidden, who educated me in college, taught me how to go and see a girl properly (laughter) and other achievements that I need not enter into, because he is in a responsible position, and I want to see him succeed. Then on my right is the father of what little intellect I have left—Sir John Willison, with whom I was associated on the "Globe." And in that capacity I remember that a gentleman wrote in one day and said, "Dear Sir: I have been reading your paper continuously for fifty years, and am still very intelligent." Willison thought that was a great compliment. (Laughter) I feel that I am among the dear friends of my first love, and as I come to this city from time to time and see its growth, see it expanding in all directions, I think that you who live

---

Dr. Charles Aubrey Eaton is a Nova Scotian by birth. A Baptist pastor in Toronto, Cleveland and New York, he is widely known as a great preacher and effective orator. During the war he was Chairman of the National Bureau of Speakers in the United States, President of the Canadian Society in New York, and a vigorous promoter of friendly relations between the United States and the British Empire. He was recently elected a Senator from New Jersey to the United States Congress.

in it and are part of it can hardly realize what a cosmopolitan, throbbing centre this great city has become. I don't know whether you will hold it against me that I have fallen from grace and become a mere politician, but I am too old to be a politician. Personally I think one of the greatest evils in the world is the professional politician, so I have gone into the matter to show that it is possible to be a politician without being one. (Laughter) I don't know whether I shall succeed, but so far I have had a bully time; and as for the struggle which has just ended so gloriously—for our side—(laughter)—I am reminded of the coloured brother who got up in the prayer meeting one night and said, "Bruddren, I'se been havin' a study of the subject of prayer; I never understood that subject befo', but I do now. It is like this; When I ask de Lord to send me a chicken, I don't have no chicken; but when I ask de Lord to send me after a chicken I has chicken all de time." (Great laughter) That really has been my experience; I never had anything in my life that I did not have to work for, and then fight for to keep after I got it. After all, that is the best heritage than can come to a man—the necessity of struggle. I am moved by many happy memories in connection with this city, but I have to turn away from them lest you fear that advancing years have turned me to a reminiscent mood. I would like to refer to my distinguished friend, Justice Riddell here, who is in many respects the most popular Canadian south of the line, especially among the ladies. (Laughter) We always love to have a visit from him, and I look upon him as one of the golden links binding these two great nations closer together. (Hear, hear)

One of the arguments against me in the recent campaign was that being born in Canada I had not been in the United States long enough to understand the American institutions. The gentleman who had made that charge had only been out of the steerage himself a short time. (Laughter) The fact is, my mother used to say, "If you go back a couple of generations and find nobody that was hanged, just stop." (Laughter) I had the good fortune to be with that 17,000 that came over in the "Mayflower," (laughter)—and we brought enough furniture to equip comfortably most of the houses at present in New England. (Laughter) Francis Eaton, I am told, was the first man to be put in jail in Plymouth. (Laughter) He was not sound on the damnation of infants; he thought a few of them might pull through. (Laughter) The old bachelors here, I imagine, won't agree even with that slight residuum of mercy. Then my folks moved down to Nova Scotia, after they had squeezed the New England orange about dry, and went into shipbuilding—showing that the intelligence of the family had lowered. There are two sets of people in Nova Scotia, Scotch and the New England Yankee, and for a hundred years they have been endeavoring to make a dollar of each other without any visible result except in acquiring enormously sharpened wits. (Laughter) It is quite normal for the Nova Scotian to go back to the land of his fathers in New England. So I found my way back there. I am establishing this alibi because it is necessary to show that I am still respectable, in spite of the fact that I have gone into politics. Certain pious people say to me, "Why, you have lost your religion." Well, that is what is the matter with politics. We have our religion in one water-tight compartment—that is, if we are Baptists—(laughter)—and we have our politics in another; but I have a theory of life that is growing in authority with the passing years—that life is a unity, and if you are not a Christian on Monday it does not matter much what meeting-house you sleep at on Sunday. So I look upon any form of service—whether it is business or profession or the pulpit or the housewife's duties and drudgery—as a sacrament; and I feel just as religious when I am out on the farm pitching hay as I do when I am distributing information to the down-trodden and oppressed electors, and trying to redeem them from the clutches of the wicked Democrats.

Now, I have taken a subject to-day not so much for the sake of the subject as for the sake of the object I have in mind. Sam Jones used to say that some folks stuck to their texts, but he usually stuck to his crowd. Chancellor Whidden will know that that is excellent homiletics, especially if you want a missionary collection or something of that sort.

My subject is "The New Organ of Civilization." In this presence and at this time I might confine my whole attention to a discussion of the part that the English-speaking race has played, is now playing, and is destined to play in the great drama of history, and find in our contribution perhaps one, if not the chief, instrument of advancing civilization. The longer I live the more convinced I am that eventually the destiny of the men who speak English is one. (Hear, hear) We have an imaginary line between us here stretching three thousand miles. We have about as many Canadians in the country south of us as there are in this country, and they are pretty good citizens, take them all in all. We know they do not have to learn anything about American institutions politically. Any American who is able to teach a Canadian anything about politics—clean, medium or dirty—has to step some. (Great laughter) I was reared in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, the home of the old War Horse, and I know. (Laughter)

But while that imaginary line is here, the fact is that the great animating principles upon which we have builded our institutions, and which constitute the climate of our thinking, are identical; and that election which they had in England last month, and the election which we have just had in the United States, taken together, constitute an exhibit of the essential unity of the character of the people who speak the English language, having the same ideals, the same hard common sense. It shows that they know it is impossible to create anything out of a negative; that nothing permanent was ever built on hate; that nothing was ever built on injustice that could abide. (Applause) An old man down on the shores of the Bay of Fundy was shingling his barn in the fog, and he shingled for half a day right out on the fog—(laughter)—and never knew the difference till he fell down and broke his neck. Shingling on the fog is the great indoor sport for the professional redeemer and uplifter of society; but you don't get very far in a horizontal position on that kind of a foundation. You may go down, but never up.

From history I find that our Divine Creator seems to choose a race here and there for a specific purpose. The Jews, small and insignificant in number, were chosen to become the vehicle of the moral law to mankind. Not all Jews are very religious any more, especially those that live in America, but no one can ever take from them the honour of being the vehicle of the fundamental moral law of the world. They had a genius for religion.

The Greeks, few in number and not great in extent of territory, had a genius for art; and no modern artist, except those that are crazy, can ever produce any work of value without going back to principles that had their origin in the genius of the Greek race.

The Romans were the Anglo-Saxons of antiquity. They had a genius for law, for the creation of instititions; and no English-speaking lawyer can argue an important case before Justice Riddell or any other great jurist without, consciously or unconsciously, going back to principles that had their origin in the Roman jurisprudence.

There is another race that was chosen by God, I believe, for a specific function and purpose in the world, and that is the race that speaks English. We originated in the swamps of Northern Europe. We went across the North Sea to a little island which is still, and is bound to be for generations to come, the centre of the world, the key-stone of civilization. (Hear, hear, and applause)

There we developed, almost two thousand years ago, a genius for freedom, a genius for self-government, in its rudimentary forms, at least, and out of which grew the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights and the Parliament. As our civilization grew the passion for freedom grew. After a time came the Reformation which set the souls of men free. Then the new world was discovered to furnish a new and wider opportunity for the development of the drama of liberty. We transferred across the sea those ideals that in the old world had distinguished the English-speaking people for fifteen hundred years; and here in this great amphitheatre of opportunity, the new world, we are still working out those ideals.

Some one asked me the other day where I thought the centre of civilization would be five hundreds from now, and I told him, "In the country that is now the Dominion of Canada." (Loud applause) You know, men are like apples; the further north you can ripen them the better they are—(laughter)—and I believe that we are going to have a steady advancement of picked men clear to the Arctic Circle. Of course that section is no place for weaklings; the weaklings would die young; but it is a great place for men. The day will come when there will be economic development in the north. I hope it will not come too soon; (for God's sake let us keep some spot in the world still untainted from the turmoil of the multitude, so that coming generations will have a place to flee to). But it will come perhaps after your children and grand-children have passed away—a civilization in this Northland that will be one of the most wonderful the world has ever known, and it will be animated by and dedicated to the ancient passion for freedom which is the distinguishing characteristic of the English-speaking stock. (Applause)

Now, ideas are like thistledown; they blow over the mountains and take lodgment in strange new soil. The Hebrews could not keep their religion to themselves; it became the common possession of mankind. The Greeks gave their art to others. That is the glory of such possession, that you can give it away and still retain it. The Romans gave their law. We have given the ideal of liberty, and I suppose it is no extravagance to say that to-day in every civilized nation and in some uncivilized nations the ideals and ideas that have made us great and prosperous and happy are disturbing the social fabric to its very centre. That is the trouble with Russia, with Germany. That is what disturbs Japan and China and India. Every where, the world is beginning to throb with the new birth of ideas and ideals that we have developed into practical institutions. It will be a long time before men who have not the native genius for the practice of such ideas can practically and simply apply them; but the most hopeful feature of the modern world, in my judgment, is this dream of freedom. Many of them do not know what it means; in fact many of us do not seem to know what it means, by the way we behave; but here and there we have in our corporate soul, in our personal spirit, the understanding which is going to become the dominant force throughout the world.

At this point I could stop and with good reason say that the Anglo-Saxon will be free is the chief organ of civilization, for around that idea clusters all the great divinities of religion, the glories of art, and the beauties of modern civilization. But I have another thought in mind, and I would make the achievement of people who speak the English tongue throughout the world the background for my message.

Civilization, in its journey down the centuries, seems unconsciously or consciously to choose, at different times, some one great instrument for its advancement. There was a time when war was the chief organ of civilization. The Roman Empire was extended, developed, and finally destroyed by war. There was a time when religion was the chief organ of civilization, notably in and after the dark ages. In the 19th century science was the chief organ of civilization.

I believe that to-day our civilization has, consciously or unconsciously, adopted as its chief organ of advance not religion, great and eternal and necessary as that is; for religion is the climate in which all beautiful things grow; not science, fundamental and necessary as that is for the advancement of civilization; not politics or war, great as they are—and I hope the latter is forever vanished from the earth, though I do not know but that is an absurd hope as long as human nature remains what it is. But *the new organ of civilization is Industry,* where science applied to the forces and resources of nature, is being used in the ever widening service of mankind.

In the United States alone there are, 40,000,000 wage-earners in various forms of industry; and it is industry, where men spend most of their time, that they have to meet the supreme test of our civilization.

Can we apply, in any industry, for instance, the principles of Canadian and British and American democracy? Industry, was organized originally, in its large form in the modern age, on the principle of autocracy. Can we apply in industry so organized the principles of the Christian religion? If we cannot, then either the industry or the religion will have to go. Can we adopt in Industry the principles of common humanity and justice, and at the same time keep our Industry economically sound?—for you cannot get more meat out on an egg than there is in it, although some sentimental saviours of the people have tried to do so. But it cannot be done even by a Scotchman. (Laughter) It is no use imagining that it can be done. You cannot conduct a business or a government very long on principles that are unsound without reaching the precipice and going over. Somebody has to pay for everything exactly what it costs, and that is the great principle that men like Willison here has been teaching for ages, it seems like—(laughter)—and I believe at last that people are coming to understand it.

Now I want to show what I mean by this. I will not raise any embarrassing questions about Canada, but let us take a well-known wicked illustration—the United States. (Laughter)

We started modern industry with a boss and a small number of employees. When I was a youngster in New England there were shoe factories in back yards where they made a dozen or two dozen pairs of boots in a week; to-day they make tens of thousands in hundreds of factories. I can remember seeing my mother weave by hand, and at the end of the week it was an achievement if she had a yard or two of cloth; but to-day cloth is being woven in a thousand mills by thousands of miles per week. In our industry, the National Lamp Works of the General Electric Company—which we admit is the finest industrial organization in the world—(laughter)—we used to make lamps by hand. Men would stand all day and blow their insides out, nearly, and make a small basketful of those bulbs. Yesterday in one of our small factories they blew, by machinery, 40,000 of those bulbs. That represents the passing of industry from a personal, man-made proposition, to the elaboration and sometimes degradation that came with the application of science.

When in industry it became necessary to have a bigger unit than the individual employer—the Government created a new type of citizen called a corporation—created by law, but as real a person in the eye of the law as though it had been created by the process of natural generation. At first we took it as axiomatic that a corporation had no soul, and you know if you give a dog a bad name he will live up to it; so our corporations endeavoured not to disappoint their admirers, and many of them eminently succeeded. (Laughter)

After a while came a new vision, which amounted simply to a return to the common-sense of the situation—that you cannot have any organization in the form of a social service without moral responsibility as well as legal restraints. With this idea the employing side of industry began once more to develop a soul.

Meanwhile the individual working man, who had no chance in the world against this vast impersonal force, organized himself into a fighting unit, and we had a period in industry marked by continual warfare and waste. By-and-bye the working man was able to establish certain recognized rights, and his employer, the impersonal corporation, began to recognize its duties as well as its rights. Then we entered upon this new period in industry.

I have been immersed in the industry of this continent for the last seven or eight years—I instinctively use the word "immersed" on account of my theological connections (laughter), and I want to tell you that in my judgment the most wonderful fact in modern society is the change that has come over the big men in industry on both sides of the battle—the worker and the employer. (Hear, hear)

Only a few years ago young Mr. Rockefeller was teaching a Bible class in Fifth Avenue, New York. He was preaching the beautiful gospel, "Peace on earth and good will among men." He was at the same time the largest owner in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and just then there was strife and bloodshed among the company's workers. The New York newspapers, with the occasional flash of intelligence that does afflict newspaper people—(laughter)—saw the contradiction in the situation. They began to razz young Mr. Rockefeller, and being a man of intelligence and kindness and fairness, he saw the justice of their contention. He went to Colorado, went into the mountains, and penetrated to the camps where they had soldiers on guard. He met the men. His friends had thought he would be assassinated. To the astonishment of all parties concerned, the men discovered that he was a real human being, and he discovered that they were the same; and they sat down together in the little cabins and talked it out; and there was born the principle of representation in industry.

Mr. Rockefeller looked around for a man who could advise him. I hope you Conservatives will forgive me mentioning this, but he came over to Canada and took the first Labor Minister that we had in this country as his advisor; and I imagine that, in spite of the derelictions and sins that have been committed by that gentleman since as a Liberal, he gave Mr. Rockefeller good sound advice. (Laughter and applause) Don't you see how impossible it is to keep any of these great movements on either side of the line long? That was a great help to Canada, and it was a great help to the United States.

Now that movement has grown until we had in Cleveland last Thursday a convention composed of representatives of the Industrial Section of the American Management Association—about 400 of as fine, intelligent-looking men as you are—which is going some. (Laughter) Five years ago you could not have had a convention like that; there would have been about a dozen there—mostly office boys.

At that convention the head of one of the greatest mining institutions on the continent, presided, and the vice-president and manager of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company read a history of his experience in applying to industry the principles of Anglo-Saxon democracy. Representatives of the railroads, the General Electric Company, and the greatest industries in the United States were there to show how they were solving their own internal troubles, which are the real troubles of our civilization, by the application of those principles that for a thousand years had been working in our political institutions.

Let me, in all modesty, go back to the National Lamp Works. We started with the idea that a corporation has a soul. We have one or two principles which I had the honour of putting into concrete language. The first principle is that a corporation is the biggest citizen in the community; and because it is the biggest citizen it must be the best citizen. It cannot discharge its obligations as a citizen and prey upon the community in any particular.

Now, how does that work out? We take thousands of girls to make these lamps, which is beautiful work. They stay with us about six years on the average. At the end of that time they are absorbed back into society. They are loaned to us for their profit and for ours, and we are under obligation—and we recognize it—that at the end of six years we must send those girls back to society six years better than when they came to us. (Applause)

That is not philanthropy; that is not paternalism; that is good morals, good sense, good economics, and good business. Those girls make high wages, and if they are not coming over the top with as high wages as we want, it is our fault. We supply them with the most beautiful places possible in which to work. Why? Because we are responsible for their health, not only as workers but as potential wives and mothers.

We have high-speed machinery, but it is devised by a genius who hides the speed of the machine from the operator, so that the faster the machine goes the slower the operator works; and there is no nerve strain—not as a philanthropy, but as a discharge of our obligation to our investors, to our customers, to our employees, and to the whole community.

This same process has gone on in other industries, until to-day we are solving within industry itself by peaceful means the problems that the labour unions and other organizations were forced into being in order to solve by the instrument of warfare thirty years ago.

I used to tell the big man in industry that his business was to beat the professional deliverer of his employees to it, and become his own deliverer; and it is amazing how hard-headed a great and successful financial man can become when he does not want to have an idea admitted to his head, even by a surgical operation. But there is one nerve that you can always get him on; that is the financial nerve; and when he begins to discover that it is good business to have right living conditions, and a right wage-level, and a proper spirit between himself and his employees, then he begins to sit up and take notice. To-day he is showing flickers of real enthusiasm, and I predict that the new leaders of the industrial movement will be the big employers themselves, and they will have with them their own employees as loyal partners and co-operators.

Now, how has that worked out? I am not going to submit facts of Canadian life, although in my tutelage under Sir John Willison I learned a few. Among others, I tried to sell Canada to Canadians, through the columns of the "Globe," and, except for the bona-fide Tories that would not read the "Globe," I succeeded fairly well. (Laughter) This country has the biggest natural resources in the world, per capita, and I believe the time is coming when these big resources will be better distributed among the people. You have the brains and capital to do it; all you need is to have the right party in power, to leave you alone. (Laughter)

Let us see how this has worked out in the United States. I was in Cleveland two years ago when the LaFolette movement was beginning to rumble. A company of self-appointed social saviours were holding a convention. They drew up a manifesto stating that the wealth of the United States was held in the hands of a few, and the masses of men were suffering. That convention was held in the Engineers' Building, worth about $3,000,000, owned by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers! I went across to a beautiful bank and learned that their resources that morning were $42,000,000, and that bank was owned by the same Brotherhood! I went two blocks up, to the Cleveland Trust Co., and that morning they had 400,000 depositors, and the average deposit was $450. Another banker told me that they had one bank account for every man, woman and child in the community. I went to Buffalo and found two savings banks that had more accounts than there were people in the community—which showed that some Canadians had gone over and left their money where it would be safe from income-tax inquisitors. Then I went to a town where they had 30,000 people and 60,000 bank accounts. In studying the nation as a whole I found that 50,000,000 people in the United States own life insurance policies; in fact they own 77,000,000 policies, with a face value of $55,000,000,000, and they have built themselves a reserve, out of their premiums, amounting to $10,000,000,000; roughly speaking, one-third of this is in railroads; one-third in city and county securities and mortgages, and one-third is in industrial securities. I went to the Government officials, and they showed me that 30,000,000 of the United States people own savings bank deposits of $18,500,000,000—one-third of the population owning enough to pay the national debt. I then discovered that 12,000,000 families own their own homes, that 17,000,000 automobiles were in commission, and that the people who drove those cars owned at least a slight equity in them. (Laughter)

So I came back and looked up my ancient definition of progress, which I learned from the teacher at whose feet Chancellor Whidden and I sat—one of the greatest men I have ever known—Artemus Wyman Sawyer, a brilliant Yankee who gave 55 years of his life to educating the youth of Canada at Acadia University, and at the close of his career he was receiving the magnificent salary of $1,500 a year! Dr. Sawyer taught me to do whatever thinking I have ever done—to ask questions; to go ahead on my own, and if I ended in a bog to swim out and try again. Under his tutelage I asked myself, "What is the destiny of this stream, turgid and sullen, of human life? Where are we headed—up or down? Whence came we?" And I came to the conclusion that the process of human history is a process of Progress. If you think in terms of the great war period—no; if you think in terms of the great madness that occasionally seizes the mind of the people—no; of your own weakness—no; but if you think in terms of the whole process—yes. Remember that it is only a few years, as God counts time, since men, like other animals, crawled into holes and caves and covered themselves with leaves until the sun should warm them in the morning. Think to-day of our homes, our sciences, our literatures, our arts, our religions, our ten thousand manifestations of spiritual development and material progress, and then comparing this with that, be a pessimist if you can!

This old world is going forward, and it is going on the up-grade toward a great destiny. It is not like the country newspaper that took as its motto—"Onward and Upward," and went onward for three months, and then went upward. (Laughter)

I asked myself, "What is Progress?" This is my definition. "Progress is the growing participation of more and more people in more and more of the good things of life." (Applause) Nothing else is progress, as I understand it. There was a time when all power was in the hands of a chieftain; to-day it is in the hands of all the people. If the people have intelligence and character sufficient to the task of supporting that responsibility, they can make advance politically and socially; not otherwise. I call that progress, provided it is supported by spiritual resources enough to ensure that it will hold, healthy and strong.

There was a time when all religion was a matter of the medicine man; to-day religion is the higher area of every human experience, and the church door stands open to all to worship according to the dictates of his conscience.

There was a time when all learning was in the heads and hands of a few. To-day the schoolhouse door is open to every child. Anyone with the impulse to succeed has the opportunity for equipment to make that success possible.

There was a time when nearly all wealth was in the hands of a few, and when nearly all the work of the world was done by slaves. It is only recently that we have had the wage-system, and to-day in every land wealth is spreading our further and further. The hour will soon be here when the biggest minds in the industrial and economic world will be devoted to the task of increasing the number of people who have buying power, and the amount of that power. My reason for saying this is that quantity production depends upon millions who can buy and pay for the goods produced. A quantity production civilization must rest upon a quantity-buying foundation.

Men tell me that they are sorry to see so many working men riding around in automobiles or Fords. (Laughter) I say I am glad to see it. Men tell me they are sorry to see working men living in better houses. Why? If it is good for you to live in a good house, why is it not good for every human being? If it is good for your child to be brought up in refined and beautiful surroundings, why not good for every child? What is the normal impulse of every new-world man? You fellows who have become multi-millionaires, how did you get that way? (Laughter) You probably started out in the country hoeing corn, or driving a yoke of oxen or a Clydesdale horse. You succeeded not by having somebody else making you rich, but by putting your brains and character into your problem; and Canada gave you the open door of opportunity. What impulse drove you? The desire to better your condition; that's all. That is the attitude of every normal new-world man.

I remember John Tweddle, who was a member of my church here. He was a city scavenger, but one of God's noblemen, fit to stand before kings. I never saw him when he did not have ashes in his hair, but he was a man with a soul as white as snow. He used to get up in prayer-meeting and make a little talk, which was wonderful, about the great privilege of being a Christian, and then he would say, with his eyes upon wide horizons, and thinking of his experience, "I'm the child of a king on a scavenger's cart!" On this continent it is, not the class you are born into that is going to determine your destination, but the class that is born in you; and that man Tweddle had exactly the same impulse that I had, or my deacons had, or the business men or university men had—to better his condition. That is the hope of the world; and if you increase the opportunities of the people and make it possible for them to realize that ambition you have placed your economic structure upon the broadest and most permanent foundations.

That is why I say that Industry is the new instrument of civilization; for after you have placed political power in the hands of these masses of men they will not be satisfied until they have been able to achieve economically what they have already achieved politically. But you must watch that they do not get into the hands of the agitator and disturber.

There is no way for a man to receive high wages except by high production. His wages are paid out of the product of your brains and some one's else money and his toil. He will never be able to get more pay until he produces more. If he wants the Government to do everything, he is on the wrong track. If he wants a six-hour day and somebody to powder his nose while he is at work, and pay him big wages for little work, he will never get anywhere—except down. There is no substitute for sweat, and there is nothing in the world that is worth going after that does not cost, and the more worth while, the more it costs.

"So it is up to you and me—men favoured of God—to give our leadership and our sympathy and our understanding to the masses of men around us, that we shall go forward on the pathway of real progress, and not into the bogs and mists and failures and and ruin of revolution and passion and distress and class-consciousness. We are all in the same boat. We are like the old woman down in Maine who got up in prayer meeting and said, "Thank God, this Church is united; we're all froze together!" (Great laughter)

In the years that remain to me I expect to see human passion stilled by the magic touch of spiritual awakening. If anyone asks me what I believe to be the great need of the world to-day my answer is—a new awakening of the spirit. (Hear, hear) Not more enthusiasm; we have too much of that now. Some one asked me why I left the ministry; I replied that I left the pastorate and went into the ministry. A minister is one who serves, whether at the head of a church or of a school or a bank; whether he is pushing a wheelbarrow or passing bricks up to the bricklayer. I may be wrong, but I have notions about the

Kingdom of God. I think Justice Riddell here presides in one of God's temples—though some of you fellows who lost your case at the time might not think so. (Laughter) But you will have to let it go at that. You men who are measuring out cotton and fabrics over your counters are ministers in the Kingdom of God. I think every man who builds a little home is building a Cathedral for the Divine presence, and for the nourishment and progress of mankind.

So I ask you men to think in terms of the whole problem; to widen the horizons of your thinking and sympathy. Think in terms of humanity, and not in terms of economics alone. If you do that, in the short moments that you and I enjoy here like the flicker of a firefly in the night, you will help to lay foundations upon which every man may build until that time shall come to which the Scottish prophet looked forward—

"When man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brithers be, an' a' that."

(Loud applause)

The thanks of the Club were expressed by Sir John Willison in a witty speech.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

AN ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR W. H. GREAVES, VICTORIA COLLEGE.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, November 27, 1924.

PROFESSOR GREAVES

Mr. Chairman,—In giving this address on public speaking I am reminded of the answers of three eminent men to the question: What are the essentials of public speaking? Martin Luther said there were only three: "Stand up straightly, speak out boldly, and sit down quickly." Edward Everett Hale replied: "Have something to say, say it, and sit down"; and the late J. A. Macdonald—our own J. A. Macdonald—with that delightful little impediment which sometimes characterized his speech, said the three essentials were: "B-b-brass, b-b-brains, and b-b-belly."

The very pithy sayings of these men of eminence are significant as they register so truthfully the attitude of the average person towards the art of public speaking. He wants to learn how, quickly. It makes no difference whether his voice is the most awful ever perpetrated upon a human being; it makes no difference whether he knows anything about the subject or not; he wants to learn how, quickly. He does not want to bother about technique; he wants the essentials given to him in a plain straightforward, common-sense fashion in a few moments time,

---

Mr. W. H. Greaves, M.A., is the professor in charge of the Department of Public Speaking in Victoria College, Toronto.

and he wants to get results within a few hours. No one but the teacher of public speaking knows how horribly aggravating this attitude is. Yet this afternoon I am going to humor this attitude just as far as possible, and in as short a time as possible I am going to give you what I consider to be the elemental, underlying principles of the art of public speaking.

Now, in any and every form of public speaking—I do not care whether you call it public speaking *per se*, soap-box oratory, pulpit discourse, vocal interpretation of literature, dramatic impersonation, elocution—we make use of three languages, which may be expressed in three synonymous ways—mind, voice, body: words, tone, action: verbal expression, vocal expression, pantomimic expression.

Now, like some other things that the old hymn tells us about, these languages are closely and indissolubly bound, and you can never speak without making use of all of them, but for our purposes this afternoon we want to look at and study them separately.

If it were permissable to assert that one of these is of more importance than the others, certainly of more primary or more elemental importance, I am sure it would not be wrong to say that by all odds it is to the first—mind, thought and feeling—verbal expression. Common sense tells us why this is so—for the simple reason that one must have something to say before he says it. Sometimes we wonder whether there is unanimity of opinion in this regard. (Laughter) However, we may take it as a pretty safe theory to start with that one must have something to say before he says it.

But whether the address is one which has received hours of preparation before the speaker goes to the platform, or whether it is one of those marvellous extemporaneous speeches given by one who has the ability to do creative thinking before his audience, both demand intensive, sympathetic realization during the process of delivery. That is the *sine qua non* of the whole business, it is the basic principle, and you cannot get along without it. To use a somewhat pompous phrase, there should be an intense sympathetic appreciation of individual ideas in logical sequence during the process of speaking. You can put this in simpler terms if you wish, but every word really is necessary. (Laughter) If you can do this, if you can abandon yourselves absolutely and unconditionally to your thought and feeling, you are pretty apt to speak well whether you happen to know anything about the technique of public speaking or not.

A man must think intensely, his ideas must be clearly defined in his own mind before he can express them clearly to others. I remember a professor of homiletics in Boston, a ponderously solemn old gentleman, once saying to a class of theological students: "Remember that haze in the pulpit means fog in the pew." And it is a wonderfully fine thing for every speaker to remember that if his ideas are not clearly defined in his own mind, they will be still more vague in the minds of those who have to listen to him.

But in addition to thinking intensely and having your ideas in good logical order, you must be alive imaginatively and emotionally so as not only to reveal the truth to your hearers, but to reveal it effectively so that they will act uon it.

Well, now, presuming we understand all about this language—verbal expression—when we come to look at the other two—voice and body: tone and action: vocal expression and pantomimic expression—we can see that there is a difference between these two and the first, in that verbal expression—words—is an acquired language and more or less provincial, whereas voice and body—tone and action—are essentially natural languages, and universal, and independent of words, are capable of expressing thought and feeling. We do not have much of a verbal vocabulary before we are three years of age, and practically every nation has its own verbal language. On the other hand, voice and body—tone and pantomine—are, as I say, essentially natural languages, and, independent of words, are capable of expressing thought and feeling.

This is a principle of most elemental and practical importance in the art of public speaking, and because it is so important, I want to take time to emphasize it.

You can illustrate it in many different ways. I have two very common illustrations which I am likely to use. Take, for example, the simple four word sentence, "I never said that." Now, simply by bending the voice differently on each word in turn you can get at least sixteen meanings. Here they are:—

I never said that.
I *never* said that.
I never *said* that.
I never said *that*.
I never said that?
I *never* said that?
I never *said* that?
I never said *that?*

(Here other circumflex inflections were used by the speaker.)

I have registered sixteen different points of view, sixteen different meanings with those four words. and I touched only a part of one vocal modulation—there are at least seven others—and I have not touched pantomine. By combining all the modulations of the voice and of the body you can get an almost unlimited number of meanings out of those words.

Another illustration which may be more practical is the common idiom of greeting: "How do you do?"

You might think of the different impressions that are made upon you every day of your lives by the way in which this greeting is said to you or at you; and, incidentally, you might think also of the different impressions you are making by saying: "How do you do?" to the various people you meet. In the morning you start off to work and you ring the changes in this way:—

(Here the speaker illustrates.)

You see the importance of this fact not only in public speaking but in life itself—that voice is a language, independent of words, capable of expressing thought and feeling. When you say the most common, ordinary thing do you know how you say it?

When you tell a man to do something, when you ask him for something, do you know what impdession you are making? You may be saying one thing in words, and yet in voice and action you may be saying another thing totally different from what you intended to say.

This makes the spoken word transcend the written word. If I hand out a written paragraph for each of you to interpret, I shall probably get as many varying interpretations as there are men present, because we are always reading into things our sympathies, our antipathies, our ideas; whereas if voice and body are servants of the speaker, if they are obedient to his thought and will, then it is possible for him to say things in such a way that his hearers can get only his meaning. They may disagree with him, certainly, but at the same time they cannot misunderstand him.

When once one begins the serious study of the evolution of speech he finds the most elemental thing is what we speak of as the "stream of tone." It is the easiest thing in the world for me to tell you how to get it. You only have to allow your lungs to be filled with air, at the same time keeping the throat and tone passage open, and instead of releasing it as breath you release it as tone, and you will get a sound something like this: (Speaker illustrates.) That is the stuff out of which our speech is made. I only wish it were as easy for you to get it as it is for me to tell you how to get it.

As a rule we do not breathe correctly. Just as that tone I illustrated is the stuff out of which speech is made, so proper breathing is the stuff out of which tone is made; and if you are going to speak correctly you must breathe correctly. As you know, there are different ways of breathing. If you are going to be breathed for a life insurance examination or for the army, all you are after is chest expansion, and so you go through a herculean performance, you take a deep breath, pack it in the upper part of the chest, and hold on until the tape-measure has done its work, then you let it go.

Such breathing is useless for speech purposes. When we breathe normally we find the action caused by the breathing is at the centre of the body, and the respiratory muscles are energized. It is a most happy thing that that is so, because it is these respiratory organs that furnish the motive power and control the tone in speach.

The trouble with many of us is that not energizing those muscles we cannot apply the motive power where it should be applied. You know that every musical instrument has three parts—one furnishes the motive power, another the tune, and the other the tone. In the violin the motive power is furnished by the arm through the bow, the tune by the strings, and the tone by the whole instrument. In the human instrument the motive power is furnished by these respiratory muscles, the tune by the vocal chords in the larnyx, and the tone by the whole tone passage.

The trouble, as I say, with the most of us is that not energizing these muscles by proper breathing, we do not apply the motive power here at the centre of the body, and if we do not we are most likely to apply it here in the throat; when we do this we are bound to get some sort of a throaty voice. If we wanted some fun, we could have you get up one at a time and give what you consider the normal stream of tone. Judging by past experience, we would get a medley of sounds which would be otherwise than sweet. (Laughter) I remember a student who always spoke in a nasal twang, as I am doing now. The tragical part of it was that he was a theological student, and I had a most horrible vision of him, as Mrs. Partington would say, dispensing with the gospel in that tone of voice. (Laugter)

Now not only is the motive power furnished by these respiratory muscles, but the throat and tone passage must be open and relaxed. This means that not only the throat is open, but the mouth too is open. It means that the lower jaw is dropped, so if you have a decent sized thumb you can get the breadth of it through the teeth like this. (Illustrating.) When you go home look at the mirror and talk to yourself for a while and see what you do. The chances are that a whole lot of you will find that you are simply mumbling like this: (speaker illustrates—laughter).

O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see ourselves as ithers see us!

Now, our speech would be very monotonous unless we had some other modulations at hand for the purpose of getting our ideas across, and not only making ourselves understood, but speaking effectively and leading people to action. The study of these expressive modulations of voice constitutes an important part of the work of those who take up this subject seriously.

Just as briefly as I can I want to suggest the salient characteristics of some of these modulations.

They always work together. Talking to you now I am using most of them. But let us look at them separately so far as we can. Those of the greatest practical importance are what we speak of as change of pitch and inflection. By change of pitch we mean precisely what the term implies—change in the pitch of the voice. In animated conversation the normal person's range is about an octave. His voice goes up and down with the greatest agility and ease and with the most delightful results.

This being so, you would think that when one gets on his feet to speak before an audience he would find it necessary to enlarge this range, but just the reverse is the case with many speakers. They seem to think it necessary to eliminate. All right. But if the speaker out of the goodness, kindness and compassion of his heart would only eliminate the higher notes which, though more penetrating perhaps, are much more disagreeable, and confine himself to the lower range, which is infinitely more agreeable to his hearers and with which he can be much more effective, we would all be grateful.

But what happens with the average speaker? Within five minutes he gets up to the ceiling—and apparently he cannot come down! This is a painful illustration. There is no greater strain from the standpoint of both the speaker and his hearers than to have him talking at that continuous, high, narrow pitch. I have been talking to you for about twenty-five minutes; had I been talking this way all the time I would have been worn out and you would be feeling nervous, your nervousness would react upon me, and something would have to happen. If I have no modulation to help me out of my difficulty, the only thing is to break that horrible monotony by these great loud, high tones: (Speaker illustrates—laughter)

One of the things that holds me thralled as much as ever it did—and I have been in the work twenty years—is the fact that every change of voice and body has its own meaning and significance. That is true for all of you. You are speaking to me pantomimically now just the same as I am speaking to you vocally. We are always saying something: we cannot help it. Take the slightest little change in the modulation of the body. You see one man walking down the street, his chest out, his head thrown back, his arms swinging vigorously with his elbows out and his thumbs turned towards his body; that says something. You see another man with head down, arms hanging listlessly, and his thumbs turned out; he says something totally different. So you see, the slightest modulation of the body is significant. We are always speaking.

Then again, the downward trend of the voice means one thing, the upward trend another. Some voices go straight out, but that is a perversion. The downward inflection of the voice always means a positive, assertive, definite attitude of mind; the upward trend of voice means an intrrogative, questioning, doubting, hesitating attitude of mind, or incompleted thought.

Of course, a lot of my work in college is with divinity students, and one of the illustrations I always give them is: Have you ever heard a parson get up in the pulpit and in a devotional monotone say: (speaker illustrates with rising inflection)—We shall sing hymn 242,

Lead, kindly light,
Amid the encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on.

Hymn 242. All sing.

The whole trouble is the dear man is not thinking of what he is saying while he is saying it. If he is an old campaigner, his mind is probably on the great sermon which is coming in a few moments. If he is a young man, he is nervous and is wondering what impression he is creating or whether he is making a fool of himself.

You cannot think of two things when you are on your feet; you cannot think of how you are doing it and speak well. There must be an intense appreciation of what you are saying when you are saying it. If the dear man was asked, "What is that number again?" the question would stimulate him and he would answer quite positively and naturally, "Hymn No. 242." Why didn't he say so at first? (Laughter) The next time you get up in lodge to read a report or address or to make an announcement watch how you do it.

Another modulation is that of tone colour, the sign of imagination and emotion. Tone color is by long odds one of the most fascinating and delightful of all vocal modulations. It is the most subtle and spontaneous of them all, and yet there is none other that is so neglected and perverted. I rather imagine that the neglect and perversion or repression of this modulation is due very largely to the general neglect of the proper development of the imagination and emotion in our whole educational system.

Once upon a time I observed the reading done in a certain large public school, and I found the best reading in the second and third forms. Here the little children had very lively imaginations and emotions, though of course they were not aware of them as such, and when they were given simple little lyrics from Tennyson, Wordsworth, Longfellow, they responded at once to the imaginative and emotional elements in those poems, and consequently their reading was normal and good.

But in the fourth form of the public school and the first year of the high school, when the children are at the changeable age from twelve to fourteen and become more or less aware of imagination and emotion in themselves, and need guidance and instruction in their development and expression, practically none is given. Consequently on account of fear of being misunderstood or laughed at they do the very natural thing, they repress all feeling, and one of the first signs of this sin of repression comes in the reading. The worst reading I found was in the higher forms and the collegiate.

One of the best ways for the average person to develop this tone color is by taking a series of short extracts of totally different type—one very commonplace, such as a weather report, another very didactic, another full of love, another of anger, another of awe and reverence, and so on, and read them in quick succession. Now, because the thought content of these passages is so decidely different, the vocal interpretation ought to be correspondingly different, yet we find the average person reads them all alike in the same commonplace, prosy fashion.

Another modulation of voice which is generally thought to be of great practical importance is that of volume, which is the quantity of tone given under normal conditions of tone production. I am very often asked, "Do tell me how to speak so that I may be heard in a large hall." Now, of course most people in asking this question think I am going to elaborate on how to increase the volume of voice. As a matter of fact, volume is only one of several things necessary for being heard by a large audience. The other essentials are, first, a pure tone-quality. Pure tone carries; whereas a rasping, rancuous, breathy, throaty voice is not likely to be heard very far. Secondly, one must have good articulation and enunciation. No matter if one speaks in a voice of thunder, if he mumbles his words people are not going to understand what he says. Thirdly, there must be plenty of change of pitch. Words bawled out in a monotone are apt to become confused, as is often illustrated by the train announcers in our railway stations. If you can do these things,—speak in a pure tone, with good enunciation and plenty of change of pitch, you will probably be heard in as large a hall as you are likely to speak in without any tremendous increase in volume of voice.

Now, all these expressive modulations of voice should always be used as a means to an end, and never as an end in themselves. This is another fact which I should like to impress upon all sensible men and women. It is one of the curses of those of us who are trying to do sane work in public speaking and elocution here in Canada that apparently so many sensible people are satisfied and delighted with modulations of voice and body simply as an end in themselves.

There are two schools of public speaking or elocution. Let us say that they are both doing equally fine work in getting flexibility of voice and body. One school is quite content to use these modulations as an end in themselves; the other insists that they should always be used as a means to an end, that end being the expression of truth as simply and sincerely and effectively as possible.

You will know what I mean. For example, with another adjudicator I once listened to some eighteen girls recite Wordsworth's "Daffodils" in a contest. I expected that the reading of this lovely poem was going to afford me an afternoon of pleasure, and this is something like what I received from every one of the eighteen girls:—(speaker illustrates laughter). Now, I do not doubt for one moment that they had done serious work in obtaining flexibility of voice and body, getting the modulations well under control, and perfecting their enunciation and articulation. In fact, the latter was too perfect. I found myself enthralled simply by their articulation and enunciation. I found my ears riveted on those features of the reading, merely to see if a single consonant or word was neglected, but the girls were letter perfect. But while I was watching their articulation and enunciation, I was not hearing the words of "The Daffodils," and its beauties were lost. Their pantomine was wonderful, there was no awkwardness of gesture, but after they were done, instead of my having a better appreciation of Wordsworth's poem I had simply the memory of a lot of vocal and pantomimic frills and furbelows which in themselves meant nothing.

So I say to you, these modulations must always be used as a means to an end, and never as an end in themselves, their purpose being the expression of the truth as simply, as sincerely and as effectively as possible. It is always a dubious compliment for anyone to congratulate you on your enunciation, your articulation, the quality of your voice or your pantomine, for if he notices these things you may depend upon it he is not noticing what you are saying, and consequently your power as a speaker is to that extent limited.

The speaker was heartily applauded at the close of his interesting and instructive address, and the President, in fitting terms, expressed to him the thanks of the members.

CANADIAN UNITY

AN ADDRESS BY SIR CAMPBELL STUART, K.B.E.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, December 4, 1924.

PRESIDENT BROOKS introduced Sir Campbell Stuart, who was received with loud applause.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART.

Mr. President, my Lord Bishop, Gentlemen of the Empire Club of Canada,—It is a great inspiration for me to be back again to-day in this great city of Toronto, the capital of the Province, which has played so great a part in the history of our country.

On coming back to Canada I met with a good deal of pessimism respecting the future and our ultimate destiny, but that very attitude has fortified me in the work I am trying to do in the Old World—making better known the story of Canada; the story of its past. If you look back into our early history, you will find there were then problems to be solved, difficulties to be overcome, some of them the same as ours; but, my countrymen, I venture to say that the faith and courage of those pioneers, your fathers and mine, who lived and died to make this country, are still with this generation, and we shall make it a better country than the one they left behind them for us to enjoy. (Hear, hear)

I think that a pessimist is a curse to any country, for after all, any fool can preach the gospel of des-

---

Sir Campbell Stuart, K.B.E., formerly Managing Director of the London Times Publishing Company, is a Canadian. He was Military Attache to the British Embassy at Washington in 1917, and Managing Director of the London Daily Mail, 1919-1922. He is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the English Historical Society, was the main factor in organizing the "Société d'histoire du Canada," and gave a great banquet in the Palace of Versailles to mark its founding. There were present representative members of the great families, both French and English, that had a prominent part in the making of Canada.

pair (laughter) ; but it is a man's job to prove that there is still enough statesmanship and enough courage to carry on and carry through, and to follow the Fathers of Confederation in their ambition to build a united Canada, and not a league of Canadian provinces. (Hear, hear)

I feel that I have been primarily invited to tell you something about what I have been trying to do with regard to collecting records for our archives, in the Old Land. In the very outset of my remarks I wish to pay tribute to a very distinguished and remarkable citizen of Canada who has for many years done, and is still doing with equal activity, a very great and noble and wonderful work for Canada in collecting at Ottawa those priceless archives, and giving to those who will follow something that will really be the charter of our country. I think every Canadian should be proud of Dr. Doughty, the keeper of those archives. (Applause) What little I have been permitted to do in the Old World is to support the work of Dr. Doughty; a work that is supported with great spirit in this province by Colonel Fraser, and to try to form over there societies whose main object is to secure historical papers from whom we can. I would request the great fraternity who sit in front of me, and to which I have the honour to belong, to carefully edit my remarks, for I am going to be a little indiscreet—for that is the prerogative and privilege of being at home. (Laughter)

When I started out to form the English Society, I went to see Lady Minto, whose husband when Goveronr-General of Canada encouraged the movement, and whose widow still continues to show great interest in this country. I thought she was a very proper person to represent the families of Great Britain and Ireland, in the founding of an organization over there. She readily agreed to my suggestion, and communicated with the Duke of Connaught, and as the result of the letters she wrote, the Canadian History Society in the British Isles got its start. I took advantage of the presence in London at the Imperial Conference of the Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada to unfold my plan to him, at a dinner at which my friend Sir Joseph Flavelle was present, and also the descendants of most of the great families in high places in Canada in the past, who are now resident in London, so far as we could discover them. After dinner we told the company that there was such a thing in Canada as the archives, that there was a place there in regard to which they might wisely remember in the codicils of their wills; that there was a place which would greatly appreciate treasuring the historical documents, which we would be glad to receive as a gift, and would gladly acknowledge in the most public manner.

As a direct result of that particular dinner the Government of Canada has received a very large number of invaluable documents from the families of Lords Dartmouth, Durham, and I do not know how many more; and it has shown the people of the Old World that we are proud of our past and anxious to collect everything we can to make it better known not only to ourselves but to them as well. (Applause)

I realized then that this was only the first step in that kind of missionary work; for, as you all know, we have the English history of this country—of our part of this country, at any rate, since 1759—but that there was an enormously important part played by the French people in the early days, and no archives in Ottawa would be complete without the story of those great Frenchmen who came to this country at the very beginning, and carried through. (Hear, hear)

Therefore I recognized that it would be necessary to go to Paris. It is much easier for me to go to London than to Paris, because it is rather an unusual thing to ask those French families to give of their treasures to a country which no longer belongs to them. So I first of all came to Canada; and, dining here one night as the guest of your provincial Premier, Mr. Ferguson, I learned that Mr. Taschereau was also addressing a meeting in this city. Now, may I be a little indiscreet and tell you that I found that he was travelling back to Montreal that night, and that I so arranged my own affairs that I also travelled to Montreal that night, and by the same train. (Laughter) I went into the drawing room of the Prime Minister of Quebec, and I said, "Mr. Premier, I have come a long way to convey to you an invitation. I have in mind to invite to a banquet in Paris the descendants of the great families of England and France who have made this country, but I feel that I should have a raison d'etre for inviting you, and that raison d'etre should be to give them the privilege and high honour of meeting in Paris the Prime Minister in metaphor, so to speak, of New France." The Prime Minister in metaphor, so to speak, of New France, looked at me and said, "Where will the banquet be?" I have found that it is a great thing to carry through hurriedly without hesitation, and I said, "Mr. Premier, naturally in the Palace at Versailles." Whereupon Mr. Taschereou said, "Why, of course I shall be present." (Laughter and applause)

I went back to Paris, and I saw the only two noblemen that I then knew, that were in any way connected with New France—The Duke de Maripont represents the great Chevalier who went to Dover, and that other one was the Marquis de Montcalm; and I said to those two noblemen, "I want to organize in France the French-Canadian History Society, and I want you to father it and get other gentlemen to join, and I want to give a banquet, and I want you to meet at that banquet the Prime Minister, in Metaphor, of New France; he is coming all the way to meet you." Whereupon the Duke and Marquis said, "And where will the banquet be?" And I, without hesitation, said "Why, naturally, in the Palace at Versailles," and they said, "We will be there." (Laughter)

Then I went back to London, and as I have spent a very active journalistic life, being connected with *The Times,* I have had the opportunity of knowing most of the people in the world of diplomacy, but I was not quite *en courant* with the procedure to be followed; because I recognized that I had a premier, a duke and a marquis who had already accepted my invitation. I knew very well the French Ambassador to St. James, so I went to him and said, "Your Excellency, I am in great difficulty; I am giving a great banquet in Paris"—and I visualized what has since taken place—"and I have already three guests." He encouraged me to go ahead, and said that everything he could do he would be glad to do if I would let him know. I said, "That is why I called; it is just a small matter, but I am afraid I have put my foot in it because I have invited those gentlemen to take dinner with me in the palace at Versailles." The French Ambassador is a true diplomat. He never blinked an eye. He looked at me somewhat coldly and said, "It has never been let to a foreigner." I said, "That is why I came here; we must see this thing through somehow; you are the ambassador to England." He said, "But what do you think I ought to do?" I said, "If you will give me a letter to the Director of Palaces, whoever that gentleman is, I will go and see him." I added, "If you will write it in your own handwriting it would carry more weight"—these things do in the Old World. So he did write this letter to a gentleman whose name I dare not divulge even here.

I went to Paris and called on him, and after a certain preamble and a general discussion about international politics, I had to confide in him that I had now four guests that were coming to a banquet with me in the palace at Versailles. Whereupon he was not as diplomatic as the ambassador, and I won't tell you what he said, but he was not as optimistic, and he said, "This is not an ordinary application," and he intimated that he would have to give me another palace near by, perhaps. I pointed out to him that Louis XIV had dreamed the dream of French Empire in Canada in that particular palace in Versailles, and that I could not have that dream dreamed all over in another place. Well, he said, it would perhaps better for me to see the architect, as the application was very unusual; so I asked him to give me a letter, and I urged him to give it in his own handwriting, and at once, as I had a car at the door. He said, "If you could come in to-morrow"—but I said it would be impossible to come to-morrow; so he gave me the letter to the architect, and I took with me a young Englishman who had played a great part in Paris during the war; and we let the architect know that if he allowed this banquet to take place he would also be one of the persons. (Laughter) After two hours the architect recognized that he was immortal, and he said, "Take the palace." (Laughter)

But, Gentlemen, many of you here know as well as I do that it is one thing to get a verbal order, but quite another to get a signed contract. When I got back to London, I hurried after the descendants of all the great English families; and my three or four guests had got to about sixty when I received a letter from the French Government informing me that they had given me the Petit Palace. So I went straight to the French ambassadar and said, There is another dilemma, I have got the wrong palace; and now I have fifty-four guests instead of three." He said, "You had better go back and see that director." So back I went with a further explanatory letter about this dilemma. The director said, "I am quite willing, but you had better see the architect." My friend the Professor of History at that time had gone back to London. I found Mr. Roy, the Canadian Commissioner, who was very helpful to me in this matter, and we decided that it would be a good plan to get the officials together; so we all got to Paris together, and I saw clearly that we had to tell the Director of Palaces that he also should be immortal; and then we got the palace back. (Laughter)

Now, Gentlemen, you might think that having got the palace I was very well satisfied and happy, but I assure you my troubles only then began. Naturally I knew there were people with some knowledge of Canadian history, with descendants all over France, and I got a considerable array of persons, and finally 200 people said they would come and feast with me, including from England the Duke of Connaught.

I went to Versailles, and found there was no kitchen in the palace, and I was afraid we could never have a banquet there. But in speaking to a caterer in Paris he gave me encouragement. It must be remembered that it takes 30 minutes to go from Versailles to Paris, and I thought the luncheon would not be very warm after travelling that distance; but if there is one thing in which Paris excels the whole world it is in the art of eating, and the Paris caterer said, "Yes, I think it can be done; I would like to have it mentioned that I played a part in connection with this banquet." (Laughter) I said, "There is room for quite a number, carry on." Well, I succeeded in getting him to arrange it, and really it was a wonderful triumph on his part. That luncheon was served in the Palace of Versailles from Paris, yet everything was hot, and it was really a great banquet, with all the wines and so on just as we would be having here—well, not the wine. (Laughter)

Then I realized that I had considerable responsibilities, because after that the French Government wrote to me: "Now, we have lent you the palace, and you can have this very extraordinary company of distinguished people there, but it is your responsibility for the day." Well, there is a great institution in the city of London which is comprised of hatters, and as my bank account has not yet reached the proportions that would allow me to pay for the Versailles palace if I had to renew it, I walked up to the institution known as Lloyds and I said, "I would like to insure for one day the Palace at Versailles." (Laughter) They said, "This is an unlooked for premium?" and I said, "Yes, that is why you want to make it cheap." They said, "We will;" and they did, and when it was over Dr. Doughty said that the premium ought to go to the archives, so I even lost that precious document. (Laughter)

You who have read French history will know that during the days of Louis XIV there were two rather wonderful tapestries on which he used to walk, and which were stored away outside of Paris. I thought I could bring those two tapestries to the banquet, and I went back to the Director and asked him if I could have the use of the tapestries for the occasion, and he said he was willing if the guardian-in-chief approved. The guardian said, "Yes, I will let you have those tapestries, but I would like it to be understood that I had something to do in the getting up of this banquet." (Laughter) Well, I got the tapestries, and if you can visualize it here to-day, it was rather wonderful when the Prime Minister of France and the Chamber of Deputies entered that gallery at that time to see those grand tapestries which Louis XIV had walked on in the long ago

—the spirit of the great king all around us at that time.

I had engaged a 17th century orchestra, and when we entered the great dining hall that orchestra played the old tunes of Louis XIV; and, what is more interesting to Canadians, it played the accompaniment to a French-Canadian tenor who was born in the Province of Quebec and who is now singing in the Paris Opera House. On that day he rendered the folk-songs of French Canada. (Applause) Those French-Canadian chansons were sung by the young French-Canadian at Versailles; and so it happened that those old folk-songs of Quebec which had been heard on the fair fields of Eastern Canada were also heard so many years later at Versailles. (Applause)

The Government at Ottawa were kind enough to send me an enormous collection of autumn maple leaves; and when they reached Versailles they were in a perfect state of preservation, and I put them on each of the 18 tables; and on each table I put a spray of lilies of France, and so we had at each table the emblem of old France and maple leaves of this country. (Applause) You do not know how many people in France came to me afterwards and asked me what those maple leaves were. Nearly all of them had heard of the maple leaf, but few of them had ever seen it before—which brings home some of the things that need to be made known outside of Canada.

When we got to the question of seating my guests a very real difficulty occurred. [The speaker then outlined the plan of seating his 180 guests at 18 tables, arranging each group of 10 in the order of precedence that rules in France].

When the Prime Minister of the French Republic got up to speak, I think nobody in that wonderful company will ever forget his words. Turning to the Duke of Connaught he said, "In the New World neither was victor; neither was vanquished; we both lost; it was Canada's victory; may God give her the best of what we are trying to give her, in her own great to-morrow." (Applause)

Well, that is all over, and as I said, it was a great object-lesson to see Montcalm in that Old World palace toast the health of Wolfe, without rancour, with all yesterday around him; and I, a Canadian, born and bred from generations past in this country, I thought that day of my own native land, and I hoped the same spirit of co-operation and good will might exist between our people in this country that existed that day between their ancestors in the palace of Versailles. (Hearty applause)

I am wondering if all working together we cannot weave the great national story, the history of Canada, into our national life, to give inspiration to Canadian character, to increase our pride in Canadian birth, and develop a fuller Canadian consciousness, a real Canadian unity. If we instil such ideals into our citizens, we shall not need to fear for our future, and we will be true to our early pioneers. Ours should be the enthusiasm to dare and accomplish what they could only dimly perceive. According to their abilities and their patriotism they builded for us the free country we enjoy; they cleared the paths; they pointed the way. It is for us to-day to realize, in the field of ultimate achievement, the visions they dreamed, the ideals for which they toiled. (Loud applause)

SIR JOSEPH FLAVELLE expressed the thanks of the Club for the very admirable and moving address.

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MINERAL INDUSTRY IN ONTARIO"

AN ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES McCREA, M.L.A., ONTARIO MINISTER OF MINES.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, December 11, 1924.

SIR LYTTLETON GROOME, Attorney-General of Australia, was present as a guest of the Club, and was introduced in very cordial terms by President Brooks. He was received warmly by the members and expressed briefly and happily his pleasure at being present, and his interest in the subject on which Hon. Mr. McCrea was to speak.

The President then introduced Hon. Mr. McCrea, who was greeted with hearty cheers as he rose to speak.

HON. CHARLES McCREA.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—First let me express my appreciation of the very kindly manner in which you have received my name; and secondly, let me express my appreciation of the courtesy extended to me to address a Club which has played such an important part in the development of all that is Canadian and all that is best for the Empire. (Hear, hear)

My subject,—"The development of the Mineral Industry in Ontario,"—is one so large, and of which so much may be said, that in the short review which

---

Hon. Charles McCrea was educated at Queens University and Osgoode Hall. He is a Barrister and Solicitor by profession. In 1911 he was elected to represent Sudbury in the Ontario Legislature, succeeding the Hon. Frank Cochrane. He was re-elected in 1919, and in July, 1923, was chosen Minister of Mines. In 1924 he visited England to interest British capital in the development of the great mineral treasures in Northern Ontario.

I will give to-day I hope you will feel more keenly interested in that section of your Province, Northern Ontario, which promises not only to rival but to outshine any other mineral area in the known world. (Hear, hear)

The development of the mining industry in the Province of Ontario may be divided into two periods: The first period ending with the close of the last century, 1900; and the second period commencing the twentieth century, 1901, and onwards. In the first period, which was prior to the discovery of Cobalt and the discoveries of Porcupine, and the areas uncovered since the T. & N.O. Railway was commenced, September, 1902, we had discoveries of gold in the Province, and gold-mining. We had also silver-mining. We had iron-mining and we had nickel-mining. Let us take a short look at that period. It was one where, after considerable effort in the mining of gold, silver and iron, the book was closed so to speak, and there might have been written in the mind of the general public at the end of that book the word "failure," because the impression went abroad as the result of that initial effort, —first, that gold-mining was not profitable in the Province of Ontario, and, further, that silver-mining, so far as anything was then known, had been exhausted, and that the future for mining was a dismal one.

We had discoveries of gold as far back as 1866, down in the County of Hastings, and other sections of the eastern area, as well as in the areas north and west of Lake Superior. Considerable effort and considerable money was spent in an endeavor to put gold-mining on its feet, but these mines, one by one closed, and Ontario's gold-mining had a black eye; so much so that geologists in England gave out to the world the idea that the formation over here was not such as was likely to see gold-mining on a commercial basis. That had a tremendous influence in the subsequent endeavor to develop the gold fields of the Province of Ontario.

In silver, it was in 1866 that Thomas McFarlane discovered silver in Lake Superior at what was afterwards known as the Silver Islet Mine. On a small area 80 or 90 feet in diameter they found native silver, and after working it for a number of years and taking some $3,500,000 out of the deposit, the book was also closed so far as silver-mining was concerned.

Gold in value produced in that period, up to 1900, from the commencement of gold-mining in Ontario, amounted to somewhere in the neighborhood of a little more tan $2,000,000, and the peak of production in its best year was less than $425,000 for the whole Province of Ontario.

In the period which I shall come to in a moment or two,—the second,—we find one mine alone producing in less than two weeks more than the whole year's banner production of the first period: for the Hollinger Mine to-day is producing in excess of $1,000,000 a month,—and that is just one mine.

While those discoveries of gold and silver had whetted the appetite of men who had a fondness for mining, and while there was many brave hearts who looked to the future development of mining in the Province of Ontario, it was not until the second period, or what might be referred to as the era that is, to me, the beginning of the great renaissance in mining in the Province of Ontario, which starts somewhere in the new period commencing 1901, that mining really developed in a large way.

I have a map with me (Province of Ontario), but I shall only refer to it for the purpose of fixing your attention on some features of mining in Ontario which many of you perhaps do not know; for if I were to ask what grasp any individual here has,—outside of the mining engineer who has been in the North, and the miner who has studied the development of the Province of Ontario and its possibilities, —no doubt most of you could say you had some ideas, but I will venture the view that, in the case of the man who is not familiar with the North Country, those ideas are very hazy, and that he knows little or nothing about it.

The Province of Ontario, shown in the colored section, extending from Quebec on the eastern boundary to Manitoba on the west, and including the new District of Patricia, has an area of 407,000 square miles. The southern part is the older section of the Province of Ontario, with an area of 77,000 square miles. The balance of that area has some 330,000 square miles, and it is referred to to-day as Northern Ontario; and the combined areas are three and a third to three and a half times the size of the British Isles.

This Northern area has a formation which geologists refer to as pre-Cambrian. Practically, that refers to the entire country with the exception of a bit in the Hudson Bay and James Bay section (which are on the lake region, and referred to as Paleozoic), and except that, the entire area is described as pre-Cambrian. I do not know why that name was given, but geologists tell me that is the name given to a formation of rock which is the oldest known in the world; that that rock is in places metal-bearing; and that in that formation may be found the best and most deep-seated mines in the world.

If we go over to the country of our friend, Sir Lyttleton Groome (present), we find that in Western Australia, where there is a great mining development, it is in this pre-Cambrian formation. If we go down to the great deep mines in Brazil, the St. John de la Roy, down between six thousand and seven thousand feet, we find it is the pre-Cambrian formation. If we go over to the "Black Hills of Dakota, we find it is pre-Cambrian. So in the mining sections of British Columbia it is pre-Cambrian. Down on the Rand, South Africa, where the greatest gold production of the world is had, and which has furnished millions of pounds sterling to the trade channels of the world, that also is the pre-Cambrian formation, and the mines there are down between six thousand and seven thousand feet. The great mines of India, in the Kolar region, are also the pre-Cambrian formation.

So in these areas of the world where the mines go down in depth between six thousand and seven thousand feet, the rock formation is pre-Cambrian, and when we realize that we are but commencing the development of the great pre-Cambrian shield of Northern Ontario, we get a fine idea of what may be obtained in this whole formation, and what we may reasonably expect by deeper workings in the opening up of mines. Our minds grasp the possibilities which lie ahead of us, and that we are just beginning to turn back the edge of the cover, and that we are already finding areas of wonderful riches. If you grasp this, then you begin to realize that we are commencing the renaissance period in mining in the Province of Ontario, and no man can predict what the future will be for this country and for the British Empire. (Applause)

During my visit to London, at a dinner given one night for me over there, His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, a former Governor-General of Canada, and one of the best friends over there that Canada has (hear, hear), told the story truly, and gave expression to his own enthusiastic feelings based upon years of study which men who occupy his position give in relation to various sections of the Empire. After a very kindly introduction of the Minister of Mines for the Province of Ontario, he said this: "Gentlemen of London, the areas which Mr. McCrea will speak about are areas which give promise of a great future. I have seen enough myself in those areas, and have learned sufficient about the country, to make the statement that mining in that area is not to be computed in years, but can only be computed in centuries."

When a man in the position of His Grace, and his prestige in London, undertakes to make a statement of that kind, which is in keeping with the belief of the geologists and trained men in the Department of the Government, then we begin to grasp something of the capabilities of that area. There was not very much known of it prior to 1900, and to show what can be accomplished even in the short space of a lifetime, let me get down to a personal matter.

When I went North to take up my residence in the Town of Sudbury, in 1901, the only railway which went through the country from east to west was the Canadian Pacific Railway. Since that time, which is only twenty-three years ago, we have those other lines of railway, including two short lines down to the City of Toronto, the T. & N.O. up to Cochrane, the Canadian National Railways and the Grand Trunk Pacific, east and west, those other lines which you see at the western end. In that short period of time all those railway lines have been built, and in that northern area, stretching for a thousand miles from Quebec to the Manitoba boundary, we have over thirty-five hundred miles of steam railway. (Applause)

The building of railways has played a very important part in the development of this area. When the Canadian Pacific went through in the eighties, nickel was discovered, and on the development of the metallurgy of this mineral the brains of men toiled for years, so that we have now reached the stage in this Province where, in this pre-Cambrian area opened up by railway development we have the greatest nickel areas known to the world, and we dominate the nickel markets of the world. (Applause) That is a fact that grows more important as we realize that in attaining that position we have only handled the nickel and the copper in those industries. But in recent years progress is being made in the metallurgy of recovering the finer metals such as gold, silver, platinum and palladium, which are associated with nickel and copper, and which are destined to play a very important part in the precious metal trade of the world.

During my visit to London, at a little dinner given me one night by Sir Alfred Mond in the Carleton Hotel, there was a large vase on the table, made in the form of a loving-cup. It attracted my attention as soon as I saw it. The outer part of it was silver; the lining of the cup was gold; around the bowl, at the centre of it, went a band possibly three-quarters of an inch wide, attached to the main vase with spikes of platinum. Entwined and engraved across it were maple leaves. I said to Sir Alfred: "Where did you get this magnificent piece of work? And where did it come from?" He replied, "Mr. McCrea, you will be glad to know that those same precious metals are out of the nickel and copper ores of your home district." (Applause) They are working on the metallurgy of those precious metals, and there is a great future in that field.

But I must hurry along for a moment or two more. As you know, Ontario started building the T. & N.O. Railway as an agricultural railway, to tap the claybelt, in 1902. We went north, and in 1903 discovered silver at Cobalt. I do not need to dilate upon just what that meant to the Province of Ontario and the trade channels, as well as to the individuals who were fortunate enough to share the profits. Up to the end of 1923 there had come from the Cobalt fields, and in that neighborhood, some 327,000,000 ounces of silver, and that field is the third or fourth greatest silver field in the history of the world. Mexico had two greater, and I think there was one in South America. It is said that the mines in Mexico furnished the wherewithal to build, arm, and equip the Spanish Armada, which challenged the supremacy of the seas, and which gave rise, because of its defeat, to the great dominance of the British Navy throughout the world. (Applause)

That gives us an idea of the part the precious metal industry of this country will play in the future in making Canada and Ontario stand pre-eminently in the forefront of the world.

In 1900, as a result of this railway building, six years after, gold discoveries were made up in the Porcupine area, and again the cry went up, when those discoveries were made, "Don't waste your money; you can't make gold production a commercial success in the Province of Ontario;" and the faint-hearted drew back, and walked another way. But men of the grit and the stuff of the chaps who had been in the LaRose Mine put their hundreds and thousands of dollars into development in that country, and they have made what is possibly one of the greatest gold mines in the world out of the Hollinger Mine at the Town of Timmins. That mine is to-day producing over $1,000,000 per month, with a programme for better development to increase the output from 5,000 tons a day, which they are now raising, up to 7,000 or 8,000 tons. How soon they will reach that figure I do not know, but the plan is under way, and we can look to see that mine producing, within reasonable time, not only $1,000,000 a month, but up to $2,000,000 a month in value from the precious metals of that mine.

Perhaps we do not grasp the significance of those figures, but going back again for a moment to the first period when the total production of mines in Ontario was $425,000 per annum,—and I have no doubt that they thought they were "going some" in those days,—compare that figure with what I have given from one mine alone, which does not take two weeks to turn out that gross amount. But beside the Hollinger Mine are other great mines like the McIntyre, and a little further over, the Dome; and the men conducting those mines do not yet know to what depth or extent the ore bodies even in that area will go. Somebody made the statement that every hundred feet of the Hollinger was worth $15,000,000. You can compute for yourselves what will come out of that mine. Looking back to the experience of the pre-Cambrian mines in other countries, down six thousand or seven thousand feet, what wealth will be poured from the Hollinger, McIntyre and other properties when they get down to deep mining. Not long ago when they pulled out a core at the McIntyre Mine, down below the 3,000-foot level, they found considerable free gold in the core, showing the persistency with which values go down in that formation.

Kirkland Lake will produce $3,500,000 this year, and next year it will go up to $5,000,000. That camp is increasing in production rather faster than any other camp in the world. I think the production from that camp last year was something like $2,700,000, and the fields are only tapped as yet. While engineers can estimate, and say you are likely or not likely to get it, it is only the proof of the pudding that brings these things to light. At different places stretching over that Northern area there is evidence of gold found. Exploring, developing and mining between the railway lines will be a work which only years and centuries can accomplish.

The value of the development of that country to the trade of the City of Toronto and the Province of Ontario is being felt to a tremendous extent right now. This year the total production of minerals in Ontario will approximate $74,000,000 or $75,000,000, and of that amount $55,000,000 or $60,000,000 will go out for wages and the purchase of equipment and supplies in the work of mining. The reflex action, so far as agriculture is concerned, is shown by the computation that probably $12,000,000 out of that $55,000,000 to $60,000,000 will be paid out of the mining industry and will come back to the agricultural lands of the Province of Ontario, or wherever the source of supply is, for general trade purposes.

If we can turn out $75,000,000 this year, and keep on stepping it up $5,000,000 or $10,000,000 per annum, and if we have an area such as I describe, men of vision can see just what the future will be of this wonderful part of our Province that is your heritage and mine; and if we are going to get the benefit of it, we must put our shoulder to the wheel and help along with the development of it. When this Province, which has adopted a very favorable attitude towards mining, will ask the people of the Province for more money for railways to keep up with the development so that we may control and develop the trade, and when we ask Old Ontario for more money for roads, let us say that it is the best business Old Ontario ever did to see that constant development proceeds in that North country along strong and sane fundamental lines. (Applause)

The attitude of the Ontario Government towards mining is a very friendly one. We are telling the world that the attitude towards capital is one which says:—

"Come in with your millions and help open this country, and we will assure you that you will get fair-play in its investment." (Applause) The tax on the mining industry in the Province of Ontario is looked upon, in financial circles throughout the world, as one of the fairest tax laws known in the world. So much is this so, that while in London I attended a meeting of a Board of Directors of a Mining House, laying before them the possibilities of development in Ontario, and this very question was taken up. At the conclusion of the meeting the Chairman of the concern, who had been mining in almost every country of the world, got up and made this statement:—

"Mr. McCrea, you will be glad to know that we have been looking into Ontario and its possibilities, and its attitude toward the mining industry, its taxation, and its general policy; and we are glad to be able to tell you that out of twenty-three countries, or twenty-three different forms of Government under which we are carrying on mining operations, we are going to write the Province of Ontario at the top of the list." (Applause)

That was one of the objects of my visit to London,—to obtain money for the opening of this area. I hope that the people of Ontario will take a greater and bigger interest in it. Mining is a hazardous game. Everybody cannot win, but the average will be such as to keep abreast with the times. Great wealth will be made, and my wish, and the hope of the Government, is that we will have that backing and co-operation from the people who believe it is good business to develop that country, and that with that backing and co-operation we can attract greater publicity from the world by proclaiming what we have, so that in your life-time and in mine we may see a great development not only of Ontario and Canada, but of the British Empire, because in that greater field this area is destined to play a great and important part.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the time is slipping along, and you have not seen any of the pictures. We have a couple of films here. The year before last there came to Ontario the members of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgy to the number of one hundred and fifty, and we went to the North with them, and we have a film of that very interesting tour. We do not propose showing it to-day;

I am just telling you about it. (Laughter) Then last year came the British Scientists, and they went through the North country, and we took a moving picture of their visit, and we are going to put this picture on the screen, taking about three minutes; then a picture entitled "Winning the Gold," showing the operation of mining and recovery of gold in one of the big mines of the North.

The subject is such a vast one, and so important, that we could talk here for hours of what is going forward in that wonderful country, but perhaps at some other time and on some other occasion I will be permitted to tell you some interesting things about the development of that country. (Loud applause)

The films were shown, and the hearty thanks of the audience presented to the speaker by Dr. Sterling Ryerson.

ANNUAL MEETING
AND
TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY

The Annual Meeting of the Empire Club was held in the King Edward Hotel on Thursday, December 18th, 1924. It was Ladies' Night. With these two functions was combined the twenty-first anniversary of the founding of the Club.

The proceedings began with a reception in the Drawing Room by His Honour, Lieutenant-Governor Cockshutt and Mrs. Cockshutt, and was followed by a dinner in the Crystal Ball Room.

After dinner, President Brooks formally welcomed the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Cockshutt, and expressed the Club's appreciation of the honour conferred on it by their presence and gracious assistance. He sketched briefly the progress of the Club but delayed extended remarks to a later hour.

Dr. D. J. Goggin then presented his Report as Secretary-Treasurer.

REPORT

The Empire Club of Canada is a luncheon club. Its members meet together once a week for thirty weeks in each year and enjoy each other's conversation during the noon-day meal. At each meeting an address is given by some man of distinction on a subject on which he is an authority. These addresses cover a wide range of interests but, in the main, they centre about "Canada and a United Empire"—the motto of the Club and the inspiring motive of its founding and work. They deal with national and international affairs—with politics, trade and commerce, finance, legislation, history, literature—with the big things that affect human welfare and the large problems that affect the relations of nations, and they do this in a non-partisan spirit. The purpose of such addresses is informational, educational, often inspirational. These addresses are published each year in a volume of about four hundred pages and supplied to members at net cost.

Many of the ablest men in Canada, in Great Britain, in the United States, in Central Europe, and in the Far East have enriched our yearly volumes by the wealth of their learning, the wisdom of their counsel, the worth of their critical judgments on our institutions, and the contributions they make to our knowledge of affairs abroad and at home.

Each year the Club is aiding its members, through these addresses, to get a better knowledge of our Dominion, a fuller realization of the magnitude and variety of its material resources, a wider view of our world relations as an integral part of the British Empire, and an increasing appreciation of what we owe to that Empire within whose bounds we shall continue to make our contributions to the world's progress. During 1924, thirty addresses have been delivered and some six of these deal with Canadian topics. The address by Hon. Mr. McCrea, Minister of Mines, on "The Development of the Mining Industry in Ontario," and the address by Hon. Mr. Martin, Minister of Agriculture, on "Canada's Future as an Agricultural Country," are excellent illustrations. President Beatty's study of "Some Canadian Problems," Chancellor Whidden's discussion of "Canada's Place Among the English-Speaking Nations," and Provost Seager's robust treatment of "Canada and the League of Nations" are further illustrations of the purpose and spirit of the Club.

The Russian situation, and conditions in India, Australia, South Africa, and Great Britain have been described by speakers who had studied them on the spot. Otto Kahn's masterly "International Survey," Trevelyan's brilliant study of "History and Literature," John Buchan's candid and sympathetic survey of "Some New Elements in British Politics," Stephen Leacock's courageous discussion of "The Proper Limits of State Interference," Professor Wrong's illuminating analysis of "The European Situation," Sir Bertram Windle's study of "Thomas Hardy, the Novelist"—these, in addition to those mentioned above, serve as illustrations of the range and variety of the fine addresses delivered during 1924. Further, the influence of these addresses is multiplied through the publication of reports of them in the daily papers, and the Club's educational work is greatly extended thereby. The support accorded by the Press is much appreciated and gratefully acknowledged by our members.

Our membership to-day is 1,750, all paid up, each one a British subject of the full age of eighteen years or over. During the past two months there has been a gratifying increase in our numbers, due largely to the work of the Membership Committee and the attractive power of the able speakers secured by the Speakers' Committee under the energetic leadership of Dr. R. N. Burns.

At the audit of my books at the end of November, our income to that date was certified to be $5,770, and our cash on hand $550, after payment of accounts received. Since that date there have been deposited $415. This is an interim statement required to be presented at the Annual Meeting, but a completed statement for the year ending December 31st and duly audited will be presented at a regular meeting in January, as required by the Constitution.

Respectfully submitted,

D. J. GOGGIN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

REPORT OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Mr. Arthur Hewitt, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented the following list of persons recommended as the Executive of the Club for the year 1925:

President, Dr. R. N. Burns; First Vice-President, Dr. Harold Clark; Second Vice-President, Mr. J. B. Sutherland; Third Vice-President, Mr. J. Earl Lawson; Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. H. G. Stapells.

Members of Executive Committee:—Dr. Henry Beatty, Col. Henry Brock, Mr. George Brigden, Mr. C. L. Burton, Dr. Harold Clark, Mr. W. J. Darby, Mr. Hugh S. Eayrs, Mr. R. E. Fennell, Major J. E. M. Fetherstonhaugh, Dr. D. J. Goggin, Mr. E. J. Hathaway, Mr. H. T. Jamieson, Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, Mr. J. J. McSweeney, Mr. L. F. Monypenny, Mr. S. R. Parsons, Mr. Charles V. Syrett, and Dr. H. P. Whidden.

Mr. Hewitt moved the reception of the Report which was adopted unanimously amid applause. It was announced that the Past Presidents had chosen Mr. F. J. Coombs, Sir William Hearst, and Mr. Ellis H. Wilkinson as their representatives on the Executive Committee.

The persons named above, together with the Immediate Past President, Mr. William Brooks, constitute the governing body of the Club for 1925.

President Brooks in introducing the Lieutenant-Governor referred to the great interest taken by His Honour in all movements that made for the advancement of the interests of Canada and the Empire, and to his helpful influence in bringing together from time to time at Government House so many groups of representative citizens from so many centres in Ontario, and thus promoting a better understanding of the needs of the province. His interest in the Empire Club is of long standing and the members are delighted to know that his address will review the aims and work of the Club on this the twenty-first anniversary of its organization. (Extended applause)

BRITISH EMPIRE DEVELOPMENT.

HIS HONOUR COL. HENRY COCKSHUTT.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty—I assure you it is a pleasant one—is to thank you for the honour of associating me with this important and interesting event in the history of your Club. May I thank you also for the warmth of your reception to Mrs. Cockshutt and myself.

I am not a stranger to the nature, extent and quality of the work this Club has been so successfully carrying on for the twenty-one years that have passed since it was organized. Into the details of its beginning, I do not suppose I am expected to enter, but I may, quite appropriately, I believe, refer for a moment to some of the influences which, more or less, bore on its organization.

About the beginning of this century the Alaska boundary award tested our feelings of loyalty to Great Britain; and our service in the South African war emphasized that loyalty. Toronto felt the countervailing currents raised by the criticism of British diplomacy concerning the former; and the throb of imperialism quickened the latter. The fiscal question engaged the minds of business men, and I well remember a notable meeting held at

Brantford which demanded a tariff fitted to Canadian interests regardless of Great Britain or the United States. These things synchronized—generally speaking—with the striking utterances of Joseph Chamberlain on imperial questions. His scheme of policy embraced among other things closer relationship, politically and commercially, between the Motherland and the overseas dominions; and his memorable visit to South Africa convinced him that channels could be opened by which trade would flow freely from the circumference to the centre by the assistance of a preferential tariff. His view was an Empire based on "community of interests and community of sacrifices to which all should bring their contribution to the common good."

Nowhere was the response to this sentiment more ardent or sincere than in the urban centres of Ontario, and it was under circumstances such as these that the Empire Club was formed. Its one and only object, as set forth by its founders, was the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire. I think that I am safe in saying that during the period of its existence it has kept true to this object with unswerving fidelity. To say this is to pay you a high compliment, but I feel, and Canada feels that it is not higher than you and your predecessors deserve.

In the nature of things your work is educative. You seek to create or to influence public opinion by the dissemination throughout Canada of sound imperial principles, by which I mean principles mutually advantageous to the trade and commerce of Canada and the Empire; and advantageous also to the permanency of their constitutional relationship. For, in our imperial arrangement, while British hegemony must ever be upheld, nothing can be clearer than that the welfare of the component parts must effect, more or less, the welfare of all the others. For the propagation of these principles you have called to your aid the mighty agency of the press. The newspapers have been generous of space, and this you have augmented by the publication in permanent form of the addresses delivered at your luncheons, in a series of volumes now numbering twenty-one. When one considers that these volumes contain, on an average, some twenty-five speeches each, most of them carefully prepared by men whose special knowledge of the subjects on which they speak entitles them to be heard with respect, it will be granted that no small service has been rendered to your cause by this means alone.

I cannot pass from this aspect of your activities without referring briefly to some of the outstanding men who found this Club a convenient and appropriate medium for the expression of their views on public questions; and to the rich variety of the subjects on which they spoke. I may refer—among them—to Sir C. E. Howard Vincent, a noted pioneer in the cause of preferential trade with the Empire; to Mr. F. E. Smith, now the Earl of Birkenhead, an ex-Lord Chancellor of England, at present the Secretary of State for India; to Sir Robert Cranston, Sir John Leng, M.P., the great publicist; Sir Robert Perks, M.P., Sir J. Percy Fitzpatrick of South Africa; Sir Douglas Mawson, the Arctic Explorer; The Earl of Balfour, The Earl of Reading, Viscount Northcliffe, Viscount Bryce, Viscount Finlay, Viscount Lowther, and others.

For obvious reasons I refrain from mentioning fellow-Canadians who have made valuable contributions and who by reason of their eminence and worth would have a natural right to a place among the distinguished fellow-citizens from abroad, a few of whose names I have recalled. The range of subjects is wide and presents various view-points; indeed different opinions are sometimes expressed on the same subject; but on the whole it may be said that there never is any doubt as to the singleness of purpose or as to the unity of spirit animating the speakers. So comprehensive is their grasp and vision of Empire that its integrity and orderly development move them with a common impulse. Differing in race, in creed and in general politics as some of them do, here all are in splendid agreement.

So much for the past. Of it this can, at least, be said: you have laid a foundation for most useful work in the future that ought to equal in importance if it does not surpass what you have so well accomplished in the past. Keeping in view your imperial objects there are some suggestions which I shall venture to place before you with respect to the future. The scope of your operations are well defined: Canada and the Empire. First, Canada. May I impress on you the importance of knowing Canada well. The possibilities of Empire cannot be apprehended or understood by a Canadian who has not mastered the problems of his own Dominion; who has not a fair knowledge of his own country, of the nature and extent of its great resources, and of the practical workings of its social and political institutions. I am happy to believe that you are in accord with me as to this for I consider such knowledge to be fundamental to the practical usefulness of your activities. The history of the Canadian people should be studied sympathetically, patriotically, free from inherited prejudices which may still cling to us. We shall thus observe the interplay in the social, religious and political arenas, of races differing in origin, but one in the citizenship of our common country. In other parts of the Empire,—in South Africa for instance, similar problems to ours await solution. These problems cannot be without interest to us here and our understanding of them will more or less depend on our own experience with similar problems in Canada. If we are called upon to act as well as to think imperially, our most helpful contribution to the common weal will be drawn from that experience in Canadian government to which I have referred. But probably a greater imperial service than this is to be rendered by the development of trade and commerce. Therefore, I repeat, it is necessary that we as a people should possess as accurate a knowledge as possible of our natural resources, of our industries and the immense potentialities of our own country. Such knowledge is a first condition of internal and external trade. We must try to so inform our people as a whole that they will realize the productive possibilities of Canada.

The next step will be to make our commodities commercially available to the markets of the world. The imperial aspect of our commerce lies in the development of the resources of the Empire with the view of supplying the wants of all our united countries by an effective system of exchange. The dissemination of knowledge of these resources is a condition precedent to success. The place occupied by Canada in the Empire is sometimes referred to as predominant. Among sister commonwealths Canada is held to be the first among equals. India excepted, Canada holds that place in wealth and population, at least for the present. Her future is in the lap of the gods: and, sir, I believe that "the gods help those who help themselves." To retain the proud position we claim as ours and to improve it, we shall have to keep ahead, not merely abreast, in the inter-imperial race.

The British Empire contains an area of 12,786,472 square miles, with a population of 450,000,000. The British import trade for 1923 amounted to £1,096,226,214 and the export trade to £885,801,576.

The total imports to the United Kingdom for the nine months ending on the 30th of September, 1924, amounted to £909,355,367; of which sum the total from British Dominions and Possessions amounted to £279,793,225; and of which the total from Canada amounted to £43,693,970.

The total exports from the United Kingdom, for the same period, amounted to £589,319,261; of which the total to British Dominions and Possessions amounted to £246,580,168; and of which the total to Canada amounted to £20,690,292.

These large amounts indicate how vast British trade is, and how much worth while it is for us to be sharers in it.

Our geographical situation gives us special advantages: likewise special responsibilities. Because of the position we occupy, we shall become more and more the guardian and exponent of Empire interests on the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. By degrees the sphere of our influence will naturally extend to the West Indies; and questions vital to us all will arise in the Orient as our trade expands, as it is bound to do with ever-increasing volume in the near future. An intimate knowledge of the West Indies and of the republics of South America; also of Japan and China, of the habits and needs of their people, is well within the scope of practical Empire-building so far at least as Canada is concerned. Copartnership in the Empire leads us wherever the British flag flies; our heritage is that of Britain in whose imperial citizenship we fully share. In the past this Club has been more or less a clearing house for such knowledge. Representatives of New Zealand, Australia South Africa and India have addressed its members on the interests and aspirations of our fellow-subjects in these countries, and always to our advantage. But from our nearer neighbors in the West Indies we rarely receive a representative public man, bearing greetings of political kinship, or offers of closer business relations. Your Club might help to rectify this want of friendly intercourse and by so doing strengthen the bonds of Empire between us. I would dwell for a moment on the question of the West Indies, in the hope of impressing on the minds of the members of the Club, that it is a very important question from the imperial point of view and that the future destiny of British territory there, must necessarily have a direct and important bearing on Canadian imperial relations in the days to come. Influences are at work, which we probably would not consider to be friendly, insiduously and constantly, which I believe call for patriotic vigilence and alertness on our part if we would not see rightful opportunities pass beyond our reach. I do not suppose I need be more explicit to arouse your earnest interest in this subject.

I have visited the countries mentioned,—the great outlying parts of the Empire, and can unhesitatingly commend to the business men and to the statesmen of Canada well-planned travel as a means of acquiring first-hand knowledge which will be of great value, when, in due time, world-wide movements come to be considered. To sum up, my point is this: that in order to be able to take proper advantage of our opportunities as citizens of the Empire, our business men should, in the first place, know Canada, our own country, thoroughly; and in the second place, acquire a fair knowledge of the products and peoples of some of the other great and important countries which with us form the outposts of the Empire. The task thus set is not an easy one, but it would be worth while. When we turn to the centre our opportunities are very great. Britain is and will long remain to be our best customer. When we think of Britain, however, we think of our glorious traditions, of our much-prized institutions,—of our inestimable literature, including of course the Bible in English; we think of the moral and religious principles on which the robust, fair, and honourable characteristics of our race are founded. These and other inherited advantages which might be enumerated are among our most cherished possessions; too sacred to be bartered or betrayed for a mess of pottage, or placed in the balance against material wealth. This sentiment which runs in the blood ought to be held by us to be as indestructible as the race itself to which we belong; and to that sentiment our strong hearts will always beat true. When, however, material blessings accompany and coincide with our unswerving loyalty to traditional ideals, they are to be highly valued and cultivated. An alternative to the south of us was once, and may again, be suggested. An experience extending beyond a period of one hundred years sounds more than one warning note. We have our own country; our worthy neighbors, theirs. They guard its interests jealously and zealously and in so doing they afford us an example in which, in its better aspects, we may find useful instruction and profitable reflection; but the genius of our country, we would fain believe, will lead us on parallel, not converging lines. As in the past, so in the future our adjustments will be in accord with British ideals and with British community of interests. In that comity of nationhood into which she has consciously and deliberately entered Canada will find her place perpetually secure and her destiny happily realized.

I have mentioned our inherited institutions. They have been Britain's great bequest to the world. Broadly speaking they are the more or less definite expression of the ancient liberties of England, which, passing through stress of time, found embodiment in Magna Carta; and which, in succeeding centuries were reduced and fashioned in the crucible of chequered experience until, in due course, they were carried, wherever the British race colonized, even to the uttermost ends of the earth. As to the far-reaching effects of this dissemination of principles it may be interesting to note that the Supreme Court of the United States —a judicial tribunal held in high esteem—issues judgments based on jurisprudence descending from the Common Law of England. When Nova Scotia was ready for the formal administration of law the "Laws of Virginia," transplanted from England, were introduced, and gradually spread through Canada. Again, when the Constitutional Act (1791) was passed, Lord Granville described its object as being to assimilate the Constitution of Canada to that of Great Britain as nearly as the difference arising from the manners of the people and situation would admit, and in closing the first Session of the Parliament of Upper Canada (1792) Governor Simcoe remarked with satisfaction that the Constitution of the Province was the "very image and transcript" of that of Great Britain. In those days, in the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century, the Briton considered it his inalienable right to colonize unoccupied or unpre-empted lands, under the effective protection of British Law. He did so; and by and by added British Parliamentary usages. These were an important heritage. The principle underlying the law of England is justice; or putting it in another form, it is to so enact that no injustice may be done to the subject. The subject is protected in his civil rights; he is made secure in his property. In the interest of the subject, law and order are enforced and the peace maintained. But I need not further enlarge on this phase of our imperial inheritance, a mere reference to it will suffice. Law and liberty are closely related, the one to the other, and the liberties are founded in British law. So also are the liberties of the Great Commonwealths and Crown Colonies of the British Empire.

I shall pass on to our literature. Here, are enshrined the best traditions of the race. The English Bible and Shakespeare are found wherever English-speaking Britishers are to be found. Their influence has been incalculable. No accidental or untoward occurrence will prevail against the strength of the sentiment they sustain. Our literature contains the great documents of our common Christian religion; the devout thoughts of our venerated fathers and nothing which we possess do we cherish more. On their great truths our Churches are organized and maintained; and we gladly acknowledge the profound influence they exercise in our moral and religious life. It is an impressive thought that the British point of view of life in its more general aspects has been carried along these accepted channels, working quietly, but powerfully, through Church and State towards fundamental ideals.

An institution, practical in its working, and possessing imperialistic influences not to be underrated, is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It is the Imperial Court of last resort, and its judgments are binding throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. From the most distant parts cases come before it for final trial. The unique experience acquired in the interpretation of diverse laws on subjects of similar import, but locally conditioned, is placed at the disposal of the Empire; and it forms, I would say, one of the strongest links in the strong chain that binds us together.

A factor destined to play an important part in the political relations between the United Kingdom and the overseas Dominions is the Empire Conference. It has come upon the Imperial stage to stay. It is the outcome of the material and political development of the various countries adhering to the Empire. While its functions are still somewhat undefined, it will, nevertheless, doubtless in some form or other, continue as a useful imperial agency whose counsels will be heard with respect. It is an evidence that as changing conditions emerge Imperial statesmanship, in its widest sweep will not fail to meet the situation, to the mutual benefit and advantage of all concerned. For these developments Canada should be prepared. She and her sister Dominions will be near the inner councils of the Empire, at times when clear vision, the offspring of knowledge and experience, will be our most valuable contribution to the common cause.

An important question that comes to our minds as we think over these things is how far our diverse origins, our diverse ideals can, by our common interests, our common institutions, our common literature; and—speaking of our Christian fellow-subjects—our faith, be so welded that an Imperial culture, an Imperial consciousness will gradually be realized. The question is still very much in the speculative stage; but it exists and is not one that should be overlooked. Patriotic sentiment for the present, largely centres on the Crown, which, itself is "broad-based on the people's will," and a drawing together of the peoples by a better understanding of each other severally and collectively will go far to create that Imperial consciousness we so much desire and without which the diverse powers of our Empire will lack the cohesiveness so necessary for permanent stability.

MR. R. A. STAPELLS, a Past President of the Club, and the President of the Board of Trade, moved a hearty vote of thanks to the Lieutenant-Governor, whose great public service in so many capacities was so highly esteemed, and whose admirable address on the Empire Club was so much appreciated.

MR. ARTHUR HEWITT, a Past President, seconded the motion in a happy speech.

The motion was enthusiastically received, the audience rising and giving three cheers for His Honour.

MR. F. B. FETHERSTONHAUGH, a Past President, then rose and said:—

Your Honour, Mr. President, and Fellow Members,—When this Club was yet young there returned to Toronto an educationalist who had earned in earlier days such an enviable reputation in Ontario that he had been invited by the Manitoba Government to come to Winnipeg and aid in the formation of their provincial school system, particularly in the training of teachers and the development of public support for education.

His success in Manitoba was so marked that, nine years later, when the formation of a public school system for the Northwest Territories was formally decided on, Premier Haultain came to Winnipeg to secure as his chief adviser the man who had signally proved his worth in Manitoba. The terms offered him, the lure of pioneer work, and the great opportunities for free development in the wide plains of the West appealed so strongly that the Premier succeeded in his mission, and shortly after announced the appointment of the first Superintendent of Education for the Territories and his entry on his duties immediately.

Then followed ten years of strenuous work with generous support from the Government and warm appreciation by the people. New settlers from various countries in Europe and from the United States were pouring in. The necessity for the fostering of British ideals, the training of the children in British customs, and the development of respect for British law and order as the basis of a good Canadian citizenship were recognized by the Government and assiduously cultivated by the Superintendent who "for a period of nearly twenty years, it may be said, was the guiding spirit in the educational development of Western Canada," (Government Report).

Little wonder then that this gentleman on his return to Toronto, associated himself with the

Empire Club shortly after its organization. As General Editor for the Ontario Department of Education his patriotism manifested itself in many of the selections in the school books and we owe him much for that spirit of loyalty to Canada and a United Empire which breathes throughout them.

Little wonder is it that when he retired from the Department of Education some four years ago, still imbued with the idea of service, he became Secretary-Treasurer of our Club. I refer, as you will undoubtedly recognize, to our esteemed Secretary, Dr. Goggin.

His sentiments, his attitude, are expressed in the matchless lines of Tennyson, so replete with thoughts of Empire:

"Sons be welded each and all,
Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain heart and soul."

It is one of the great pleasures of my life that our President has asked me to convey to Dr. Goggin the love, appreciation and esteem not only of the Executive, but of all the Members of the Club on his retirement from the office of Secretary, and to present him on behalf of the Club a Life Membership, and a purse filled with gold. We all hope that he may be long spared to take part in our deliberations and by his sage advice help to keep our Club steadfast and unswerving in that Imperial path which means so much to Canada and to the Empire.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH then presented the Doctor, amid applause, the Life Membership and the purse, and pinned upon his lapel a beautiful rose, the gift of lady friends. Led by ex-President Coombs, the audience gave three rousing cheers.

DR. GOGGIN gratefully acknowledged the handsome gifts and the kind words uttered by Mr. Fethersonhaugh on behalf of the members. These would but strengthen his determination to continue to work for the ideals for which the Club stands, and which had been so happily set forth by His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, in his address.

Sir William Hearst, speaking as a Past President, and a member of the Executive Committee, expressed profound and grateful appreciation of the patience and devotion of Miss Goggin, who had been the right hand of her father during all the years of his service and had helped in every way the business of the Club. He then presented her, amid applause, with a handsome bouquet of American Beauty Roses.

PRESIDENT BROOKS.

Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I crave your indulgence for a few minutes while I address myself more particularly to the members of the Club. With a thorough consciousness of the limitations of my talents and abilities, and a very full realization of the many demands upon my time and energies in other directions, you can scarcely appreciate with what hesitancy I accepted the duties and responsibilities of the high and honorable position you so generonsly offered me a year ago. I have long since learned, however, that the most exacting duties need not necessarily speak most sternly, and I was reminded that he who stood firm before the "thunder" had bowed in worship before the "still small voice." Then, again, I was encouraged by the assurance that I might confidently rely upon the executive and past presidents for such guidance and assistance as might be required. Indeed, I had been told that I need not worry about the matter, because I should find plenty of the members who would be quite willing to advise me fully as to how the Club should be run.

Many of our members have now been kind enough to say that the year just closing has been one of the best in the history of the Club. That we have had a good year seems to be the general consensus of opinion; that the Club is now in a very satisfactory condition, numerically and otherwise, is evidenced by the report of our retiring Secretary-Treasurer; that we have had a very excellent series of addresses is conceded by all. I shall not delay you at this time to enumerate the speakers of the year, or even to touch upon the subject matter of their addresses; suffice it to say that some thirty addresses have been delivered by prominent men from England, Scotland, Australia, Africa, India, the United States and Canada. To all of these men the Empire Club will be under a lasting debt of gratitude.

Right here, however, may I say to you most frankly that for whatever success may have attended our efforts for the year, full credit must be given to that splendid body of men by whom you surrounded me at the commencement of my term of office—men whose devotion to the interests of this Club cannot be questioned. No executive head has had more whole-hearted and loyal support than has been accorded to me by each and every one of the officers and members of the executive. Our first Vice-President, Mr. John O'Connor, has been a tower of strength in himself, and has done much to enthuse and encourage all the executive. Our Second and Third Vice-Presidents, Mr. C. D. Henderson and Mr. L. F. Monypenny, have aiso rendered excellent service. Dr. R. N. Burns and those associated with him on the Speakers' Committee, relieved me entirely of all responsibility and worry in connection with the matter of procuring speakers for the Club. Mr. J. Earl Lawson and his Committee on Publicity, have given excellent service. That the services of Mr. J. B. Sutherland, Mr. Harold Baldwin and Mr. W. J. Darby on the Luncheon Committee have been highly appreciated by all during the year, has been everywhere evident. Mr. L. F. Monypenny as Chairman of the Finance Committee has given generously of his time and attention. To Mr. R. E. Fennell and his associates on the Membership Committee, the Club owes a great debt of gratitude for excellent services rendered. Mr. Arthur Hewitt, Past President, as Chairman of the Committee on Constitution, has had a somewhat easy time of it in so far as revision of the constitution is concerned, but he has been one of our most active and energetic members of the committee during the whole year. Dr. Harold Clark, as Chairman of the Year Book Committee, has given me splendid service, with the result that we may expect the volume to be completed in the month of January.

In the report of our retiring Secretary-Treasurer, and the very excellent address of His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, we have had a splendid review of the activities of the Club for the twenty-one years now completed, and a most optimistic and comprehensive vision of its future prospects and potentialities. The place and importance of Canada in the Empire has been outlined. The influence of the Empire as a whole in world affairs has been touched upon. As citizens of this vast Dominion we rejoice in its contributions to the cause of Empire, and to its outstanding achievements. As members of the Empire Club of Canada, we are glad and proud of the opportunity we have for fostering and maintaining those high and exalted principles through which alone we may hope to perpetuate the reign of liberty and universal justice.

With the expansion of our industries and the development of our resources at home, and with our ships traversing all the seas in the peaceful pursuit of commerce; with our country and Empire advancing rapidly to destines far beyond the reach of mortal eye, it will be well for us to recognize those spiritual forces that will enable us to preserve the soul of our nation from the corroding influences of injustice, materialism and selfishness. We must not forget the overruling Providence that delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter. Whittier in the following lines gives expression to a beautiful sentiment:—

"The riches of the commonwealth
  Are free strong minds and hearts of health;
And more to her than gold or grain
  The cunning hand and the cultured brain."

Of the developments of the last century, Bishop Williams, of Detroit, in a recent book has the following to say:—

> "The nineteenth century was one of the great epoch-making centuries of history. In it more discoveries of the secrets of physical nature, her vast, hidden and mysterious resources, were made than in all the centuries preceding it. It has to its credit more inventions whereby these forces were harnessed to the services of our physical life and material well being. Comforts, conveniences and luxuries were multiplied incalculably for such as had the means to command them, and for the general public as well. Probably more material wealth was created in that century than in all the ages sinces history began. Steam and electricity alone, utterly transformed the phase of human society. They turned our civilization almost wholly into an industrial civilization. Everywhere it bears the industrial mark. It is concerned chiefly with the making of things. The multiplied and accelerated means of transportation stimulated trade and commerce until they became the commanding and all absorbing interest of the vast majority of able and ambitious men."

If this be true, and we believe it is true, how significant is the other truth that as a result of the intolerance, the ambition and the selfishness of a very few in high places, there has been crowded into four short years of this century—years which seemed almost like an eternity—more awful devastation, death and destruction than has been known in any previous century. The last great war was fought ostensibly to prevent future wars, and yet in spite of all our losses in blood and treasure we note that preparations for the next war are being freely discussed in the public press, by government commissions, expert committees and others.

Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen, in past years the wisdom of our statesmen and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to the best interests of our great commonwealth of nations. As in the past, so now, our Empire needs the best thought and deepest devotion of all her citizens everywhere. "Peace and Good Will with Honour" might well be their watchword. As has been indicated by His Honour, the Empire Club of Canada has a great mission to perform, but that mission can find its accomplishment only in our members being brave and strong enough to rise above the petty ambitions, passions and prejudices of individuals or groups. Those of us who were present at our last annual meeting will recall with pleasure the thrilling address of Canon Shatford on "International Peace and Good Will." I am sure you will all agree with me that to-night we are most highly favoured in having with us one of the greatest apostles of Good Will in the person of His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, a man whom we are delighted to honour as the representative of the Crown, one who loves his people and is universally loved by them. Surely with such illustrious examples our members may well devote themselves to the propagation of the gospel of good will, the fraternity of nations, the federation of the world.

As the retiring President, Mr. Brooks then introduced Rev. Dr. R. N. Burns and installed him into office with the following words:

"As brightest day goes out in golden sunset, giving promise of a still more glorious dawn, we turn the page upon the records of the year now closed; and as 'twilight lets her curtain down and pins it with a star,' so Dr. Burns, we relinquish office and turn to you, the new President, as the bright constellation that shall guide our steps through another year of useful activities. I congratulate you most sincerely on the honour that is yours in being made President of the Empire Club of Canada, and at the same time I wish to assure you that as you will be most loyally supported by the members of your executive, you may also rely upon me to co-operate with you in any way that my services can be utilized to advantage." (Prolonged applause)

DR. BURNS expressed briefly, in feeling terms, his appreciation of the high honour conferred on him. His endeavour would be, with the assistance of the Executive to carry forward, and if possible extend, the splendid work done by the Club during the past twenty-one years. With the hearty assistance of the members, he believed this was feasible. He then requested His Honour to close the meeting. The National Anthem was sung and a memorable evening brought to a happy close.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE CLUB.

The Empire Club of Canada was organized, November 25th, 1903, in Webb's Restaurant, with some seventy gentlemen present. The reasons assigned for this action at that time were, on the one hand, loose talk in certain quarters as to future independence for Canada and, on the other hand, a general desire to foster closer connection with the Empire in order to maintain the integral existence of Canada as a self-governing British Community upon this continent. The policy of the Club was declared to be summed up in these words: "The advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire." It was realized that the highest interests of the Dominion of Canada are identical with the interests of the British Empire.

The officers elected were:—President, Lieut.-Col. Mason; 1st Vice-President, Prof. William Clark, D.D., D.C.L.; 2nd Vice-President, Mr. Hugh Blain; 3rd Vice-President, Mr. J. P. Murray; Treasurer, Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O.; Secretary, Mr. J. F. M. Stewart. The Executive Committee were Messrs. Frank Darling, F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Alexander Fraser, Capt. E. Wyley Grier, W. E. Lincoln Hunter, Wallace Jones, R. F. Junkin, Noel Marshall, H. C. Osborne, and F. B. Polson.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., accepted the Honorary Presidency of the Club, and the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain was unanimously elected the first honorary member.

The inaugural luncheon was held, December 3rd, and the address on the objects and aims of the Club was delivered by the Rev. Professor William Clark of Trinity University. The closing sentence gives its thought, "you have done well for the British Empire by the formation of this Empire Club, and I am greatly mistaken if this action will not help to solidify and strengthen the sentiment of loyal adhesion to the Empire, which I think it our duty to secure by any means within our power."

The active membership of the Club was limited to 500.

HONORARY PRESIDENTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1903-1924:

1903–1912. Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.

1913. Field Marshall H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.

PRESIDENTS:

1903–04. 1904–05.	General James Mason.*
1905–06.	Reverend William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1906–07.	Mr. J. P. Murray.
1907–08.	Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
1908–09.	Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.
1909–10.	Mr. Elias Clouse, M.D.
1910–11.	Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S.*
1911–12.	Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
1912–13.	Right Reverend James F. Sweeny, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
1913–14.	Mr. Justice James Craig.
1914–15.	Lieut.-Colonel R. J. Stuart.
1915–16.	Mr. Albert Ham, Mus. Doc.
1916–17.	Mr. James Black Perry.
1917–18.	Mr. Norman Sommerville, M.A., K.C.
1918.	Mr. F. J. Coombs.
1919.	Mr. R. A. Stapells.
1920.	Mr. Arthur Hewitt.
1921.	Brig.-General C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
1922.	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
1923.	Mr. Ellis H. Wilkinson.
1924.	Mr. William Brooks.

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS:

1904.	Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain.
1910.	Rt. Hon. Sir George W. Ross, LL.D.*
1920.	Colonel Alexander Fraser, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D.
1924.	Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.

---

*Deceased.